SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN KASHMIR UNDER THE MUGHALS (A.D. 1586-1753)

A

THESIS

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Supervised By:

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CERTIFICATE

The work included in the thesis entitled "**SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN KASHMIR UNDER THE MUGHALS (A.D. 1586-1753)**", submitted to the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** was carried out by **Showkat Ahmad Dar** at the Department of History, Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, under my supervision. Thesis is an original work and has not been submitted in part or full for any other degree/diploma at this or any other University/Institute. This thesis is fit to be considered for evaluation for the award of degree of Ph.D.

Dated:

(Sulakhan Singh)
Professor & Supervisor

DECLARATION

The work embodied in the thesis "**SOCIO-CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS IN KASHMIR UNDER THE MUGHALS (A.D. 1586-1753)**" has been done by me and not submitted elsewhere for the award of any other degree. All the ideas and references have been duly acknowledged.

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PREFACE

The thesis delineates the socio-cultural and economic developments in Kashmir under the Mughals (A.D 1586-1753). The period is significant in the history of Kashmir, as it was during this period, that this ‘isolated mountainous bowl’ a sovereign country, was merged with the larger Mughal Empire, resulted in the loss of Kashmir’s independence and the formation of a new socio-political order. It is also worth studying, as the Kashmiris, even now, trace the roots of the present situation of rebellion, to that of the Mughal rule. The study may also be helpful in understanding the present hitherto unknown multifaceted facts about Kashmir: identity, culture, and geo-political importance. The change, however, gradually proved a mixed blessing as it was during this period that unprecedented development in almost every sphere was witnessed, be it the culture, the society or the economy. As a result of the remarkable development, more especially in the economic field, together with continuation of the friendly relations with the adjoining regions, through the security on roads and opening of better routes, the range of exports and imports of Kashmir widened, beyond imagination. The promotion of already existing arts and craft industry and the throwing open of region to the merchants and traders of outside world afforded opportunities to the state to fill its treasury; gave great fillip to the economic growth of the region, but inversely, it did anything munificent in the real cause of the welfare of the masses. In the societal dimension, the Kashmiris remained fairly stratified; were divided into religious lines, and more importantly, were a less cohesive category but rightly said by the father of nation were like “a glowing match-stick in a rick of hay, ever exposed to the risk of going up in flames”. Culturally, this period attained a new dimension and also helps us in the better understanding of the historical roots of our composite culture, more loosely known as *Kashmiriyat*, that has been often, then and now, attacked by the right wing communal forces.

Despite its economic and strategic importance, the proposed area of research has not yet received the deserved attention of the scholars. However, there are a few books available like G. M. D Sufi’s *Kashir*; R. K. Parimu’s *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*; Abdul Majid Matoo’s “*Kashmir under the Mughals*”, and Mushtaq Ahmad Kaw’s “*The Agrarian System of Kashmir* A.D 1586-1819”, besides a few scattered

references detectable from a couple of modern works. These works are indeed valuable, but they do not cover the most important aspects of the social, culture and economic history of Mughal Kashmir. Moreover, these works are purely descriptive without any consideration for analysis, which is today, much sought virtue of history.

It is background of this void that I chose to study some important aspects of Kashmir's socio-cultural and economic developments, in terms of change and continuity from A.D 1586 to1753. The history of the earlier epochs, has also been given due place, so as to make a comparative study of the Mughal period. It is important to mention here, that the Mughal *Subah* of Kashmir was larger than present vale, but certainly it was much smaller than the present state of Jammu and Kashmir; therefore, I have concentrated on the Mughal *Subah* of Kashmir in general and the valley of Kashmir in particular for the area of my study.

I

The plan of the work is simple and thematic. The study is divided into nine chapters, followed by a conclusion. In Chapter one on ‘The Sources: Vehicles to the Past’, an attempt has been made to asses or analyse almost all the important types of the sources available on the theme. Each source has been put to critical examination before making use of the information available therein. The second chapter on ‘Mapping the Region: Geographical and Geo-Strategical Aspects’, deals with the political and historical geography of Kashmir. Moreover, the details on Geographical extent of Kashmir and geo-strategic importance have also been discussed. The third chapter on ‘Delhi Darbar: Strategy of Coercion and Conciliation’, deals with the question of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled. It analyses the policies adopted by the Mughals in Kashmir and their effects. In the fourth chapter ‘Societal Makeover: Continuity and Change’, an attempt has been made to study the Kashmiri society, both horizontally and vertically. The fifth chapter shifts the focus on Language and Literature. The Chapters from Six to Nine are related to the economic developments in Kashmir, which forms the core of the monograph.

II

For undertaking this vast study, I sought help, both moral and material, from many individuals and Institutions. I am greatly indebted to the historians and the chroniclers,

who have lived their times, from Pandit Kalhana, Jonaraja and Suka down to Pir Hasan Khuihami, Mohammad-ud-din Fouq to Abdul Ahad, whose works have been my constant companion for the last couple of years and a great source of inspiration to think differently. I am profoundly grateful to my supervisor, Professor Sulakhan Singh, Department of History, Guru Nanak Dev University Amritsar, for his valuable guidance, keen supervision and constructive criticism. In fact, he was the main inspiration behind this work, and in capacity of a true supervisor, he permitted me the maximum liberty in respect of my views. While Professor Sulakhan Singh played the role of an affectionate teacher and a caring father, his wife Mrs. Davinder Mann helped me beyond belief.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to my teacher, Professor Sukhdev Singh Sohal, Department of History, Guru Nanak Dev University Amritsar, at whose feet, I learnt the lessons of research methodology and who taught me the basic lessons of history and the art of writing it to explain how the historical forces operate to shape the distinct shadows of society.

I am also thankful to a number of other persons for their scholarly assistance and advice. I remember with reverence the name of Prof. Jigar Mohammad of Jammu University; Prof. Himadri Bannerjee of Jadavpur University, Kolkata (W.B); Prof. Raj Kumar Hans of M. S. University of Baroda (Gujrat); and Prof. Ashraf Zedan of the University for Peace, Coast Rica, Latin America, who provided me valuable information on matters of crucial importance.

My father, Haji Abdul Ahad, deserves special mention for helping me in various ways, such as translating and interpreting the Persian writings. He also provided me the insights to see the wheels within a wheel. I am short of words for my mother Mrs. Hajira Begum, whose love and courage have kept me together. My sis Shaheena Ahad has put me under huge burden of obligation; she stood beside me, during the ups and downs of my life. This venture would have not been possible without them; hence no words are enough to express my thanks to them, other than to dedicate this work.

I also wish to thank the library staff of Allama Iqbal Library, University of Kashmir, Centre of Advanced Study, Department of History, AMU, Aligarh; Maulana Azad Library, AMU, Aligarh; Central Library Jawaharlal Nehru University; Indian Council of Historical Research; National Archives of India, New Delhi; Bhai Gurdas

Library and the Departmental library of the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar; for allowing me to use their collections and also for their assistance and cooperation.

Truly speaking, I feel indebted to the Indian Council for Historical Research **(ICHR),** New Delhi, for having sanctioned to me Junior Research Fellowship which made it possible to complete the thesis work in time.

My heartful thanks are also due to all the senior research fellows, especially Ms. Amrit, Pandit Shashi Kumar and Sukhdeep Kaur Virk for being available all the time for their noble suggestions and worthy ideas. The memories of Shekon Sahib and Beeji will remain always inspiring and motivating. For any omission and commission in the presentation of data and facts, the responsibility rests with me.

Last but not the least, I thank all those, who cannot be mentioned here, but none of them is forgotten. One stranger, whose name and identity, I do not know; who inspired, motivated and financially helped me, deserves my heartful and heartfelt emotions and even lot of regard and good wishes for his/her long life, wherever is he/she.

Amritsar **Showkat Ahmad Dar**

CHAPTER-1

THE SOURCES: VEHICLES TO THE PAST

It had been the custom in that country for its rulers to employ certain learned men in writing its annals.

Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*

The people of the region under study possessed a record of continuous and unbroken history from the very earliest period up to the present time. The excellent panorama of the valley of Kashmir; rise and fall of various dynasties; myths and legends; culture and tradition had been very elaborately recorded by the sons of the soil. The period under review is exceptionally well illuminated by a large body of historical literature, mainly in Persian, written by both local and non-local chroniclers. It was mainly due to the fact that Persian was mostly the language of the Muslim elite and became the court language of the Mughals as well. However, at the very outset, I must make it clear that it was not introduced by the Mughals in the Valley of Kashmir, but with the Islamization of Kashmir by the Sufi missionaries, who were well rooted in Persionite Islamic culture, preached not in Arabic but in Persian, their own mother language. This alien language, now well entrenched, received unprecedented boost following the period of establishment of the Sultanate in Kashmir; but it is not known when did, it become the court language of the Sultanate. For the utilitarian requirements and pragmatic considerations, it was mastered by both the Muslims and the Hindus; for instance, Yodhabhatta and Bhattavarta, the courtiers of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin remark Srivara 'had mastered the ocean like texts that existed in the country of Shah Nama.'[1] Nonetheless, for more than a century after the Shah Miri dynasty (A.D1339- 1561), the Sanskrit continued to be used officially along with the Persian language. During the Mughal period under study, the Persian as a court language continued flourish without any serious disruption and it was because of the proficiency of the people in this language that the Kashmir was claimed to be known as *Iran-i-Tsani* (the second Iran).

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[1] Srivara, *Rajatarangini,* English trans., J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmira*, Calcutta, 1879-98, Delhi, reprint, 1979, p. 97.

I

E. H. Carr, a well known British philosopher historian, in his pioneer work, *What is History?* defines history as, “a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past”.[2] More exactly, history is the science of the past experience of mankind, preserved in documents of varied nature. For writing good work on history, we have to start with the collection of relevant historical material from different sources. The sources are very important, but the understanding of all evidences depends on a proper apprenticeship. According to Ibn Khaldun, ‘the (writing of history) requires numerous sources and much varied knowledge. It also requires a good speculative mind and thoroughness, which lead the historian to the truth and keep him away from slips and errors’[3]. John Tosh writes that, ‘even the most tainted sources can assist in the reconstruction of the past’.[4] But that too is possible only through the critical examination of the sources. Criticising the sources means two things: establishing its genuineness and assessing its proper significance through external and internal criticism.[5] The specific objective of external criticism is to restore a document to its archtype; while the internal criticism is to determine its acceptability for historical writing.[6]The synthetic operations provide the magic touch for turning the lifeless, isolated, meaningless and dry facts into a connected meaningful, interesting and sometimes enlightening narrative of events, facts and forces. With a view to the significance of the sources for the historian and the vice versa, an attempt in this chapter has been made not to leave any relevant type of the sources untapped or underutilized from the point of view of a critical historian, so that the past of the valley of Kashmir and its people is dispassionately reconstructed as accurately as possible.

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[2] E. H. Carr, *What is History?*, Penguin Books, London, 1990, p. 21.

[3] Ibn Khaldun, *An Introduction to History, The Muqaddimah*, (tr. Franz Rosenthal; abr. and ed. by N. J. Dawood), London, 1967, p. 11.

[4] John Tosh, *The Pursuit of History*, Longman, London, 1984, p. 51.

[5] G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History*, Fontana Books, United Kingdom, 1967, p. 97.

[6] *Ibid,* pp. 97-98.

I. THE SANSKRIT SOURCES

Kalhana's *Rajatarangini,* "the River/stream of Kings", occupies a vital place in the literary history of the Indian sub-continent which was compiled in Sanskrit verse in (1070 saka) A.D 1148. It is the oldest record of the history of Kashmir, which according to Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din, is "one of such unfortunate books which are least read but often quoted."[7] It provides information about the various dynasties which ruled the secluded valley of Kashmir from the earliest times down to the time of the author.[8] One of the pivotal and the most distinctive features of this poetic history is that it is based on the extensive use of the previous source material like *Nilmat Purana*, *Srikantha, Mankhas,* Kshemendra's *Nrpavali, Helaraja's Parthivavali* and the *Chavillakara* etc*.* Similarly, Kalhana displayed an advanced technical expertise while using unconventional sources; his explicit reference to inscriptions which were found in the temples, the inscriptions referring to land grants; epigraphic sources relating to royal eulogies made it *Sui generic*. "It seems", refers Mohammad Ishaq Khan that "Kalhana was conscious of the duties of an historian, for not only did he narrate the events of the past but also analysed the past in a manner so as to enable his readers to think on the nature and the impermanence of the life".[9] Significantly, the author critically furnishes the details relating to society, religion, culture, and economy of the early Kashmir. He does not attribute a single cause of "divine grace or role of fate", which dominated the writings of the medieval historians for the downfall of the rulers, but he recognises the importance of the multiplicity of the causes responsible for making of an historic state of affairs. His work also provides vital details regarding the agrarian economy of the ancient Kashmir and the role of state during the period of crisis. Thus, Rajatarangani serves as a mine of information but as it has been said by Vigal Bronner that, "we do not have to accept every aspect in it as fact even if

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7 Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din, *A Fresh Approach To The History of Kashmir*, Book Bank Srinagar, 1998, p. 5.

8 M.A Stein, *The Ancient Geography of Kashmir,* Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1899, p. 31.

9 Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Perspective on Kashmir*, Gulshan Books Srinagar, 1983, p. 98.

there is no reason to reject out of hand its seemingly more far-fetched particulars”.[10] The translation of this work into Persian was made during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin and Emperor Akbar by Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahabadi and Abdul Qadir Badauni in 1460’s and 1595 respectively. Abul Fazl Allami has also mentioned that the translation of the celebrated work into Persian was done by Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahabadi.[11] However, Abdul Qadir Badauni does not mention the name of Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahabadi at all; he states that “in Ramadan 1003/May-June 1595, it was ordered that the Hindi annals, which Sultan Zain-ul -Abidin had translated in past and given the name of *Bahrul Asmar*, I should translate the remaining part and complete it. I was to complete the task in five months, since the latter portion of that work comprised 60 quires. Soon afterwards, I was called at night to the throne in the Palace, and asked about the stories in each chapter till dawn. His Majesty said, since in Part one which Sultan Zainul Abidin had translated, the Persian is quite unidiomatic; you should write this out afresh in idiomatic language. I was given 10,000 copper *tankas* and a horse in *inam*, and hoped to finish his task quickly in two or three months”.[12] This shows that Abdul Qadir Badauni had translated some portion of the *Rajatarangini* into Persian at the behest of the Emperor Akbar.

The tradition of writing history was continued for two hundred years after Kalhana by Jona Raja, the principal Sanskrit scholar at Zain-ul-Abidin's court. He was commissioned by the Sultan's “minister of customary affairs” to produce a continuation of Kalhana's Rajatarangini. According to M.A. Stein, Jonaraja was a scholar of considerable attainment but without any originality”.[13] His ‘production’, though a

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10 Vigal Bronner, From Conqueror to Connoisseur: Kalhana’s account of Jayapida and the fashioning of Kashmir as a kingdom of learning, *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 50, 2 (2013), pp. 161-177.

11 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Nawal Kishore edition, Lucknow, 1879-80 & Eng. Trans., Vol., I, H. Blochmann and Vol. II-III, (Bound in one) H.S. Jarrett, Low Price Publication Delhi, Reprinted, 1994.p. 116.

12 Abdul Qadir Badauni, *Muntakhabut Tawarikh,* ed. Ali Ahmad and Lees, Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1864-69, II, pp. 401-402.

13 M.A Stein, *The Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1899, p. 42.

continuation of Kalhana's Sanskrit genre, lacked an idiosyncratic style of the illustrious predecessor. This work, according to Jona Raja, is only "an outline of the history of kings",[14] but holds vital importance in understanding the socio-economic and political conditions prevailing in medieval Kashmir. Although a contemporary of Sultanate era (from 1389 up to 1459), Jonaraja fails to mention socio-religious milieu and the missionary zeal of the early Sufis; yet adequate space has been given to the policies and the measures adopted by Sultan Sikandar to persecute the Hindus. The work throws ample light on the decline of the Hindu rule on one side and the establishment of the Sultanate on the other.[15]

After the premature death of Jona Raja in A.D 1459, his pupil Srivara Pandita continued the project of his master and named it as *Jaina Tarangini*.[16] He carried the story forward to include the successors of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. Therefore, he was able to compile the history of the Sultans from A.D 1459-1486.[17] As he was a courtier of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, his work should be read with care and I agree with Khan that "Srivara extols his patron to skies".[18] Srivara wrote with some purpose as he himself says that, "other poets compose works of beauty, my work has been undertaken to commemorate the accounts of kings. I have received various benefits, gifts of wealth and of village, and the privilege of performing the *Homa* sacrifice, and I have been brought up by the king like a son. I will narrate his history, therefore, partly to free myself from

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[14] Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. Trans., J.C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmira*, Delhi, Reprinted 2003, p. 2.

[15] According to Chronicler, the decline of the Hindu rule was because of the social tension and the Continues rebellion of the lavanyas and the Damaras, *Ibid*, pp.4-14.

[16] *Srijonarajavibudhah kurvan rajataranginim* || *sayakagnimite varse sivasayujyam asadat* || *jainarajatarangini* 1.1.6. The learned Jonaraja became merged in Shiva[i.e. died] in the year 35 (1459 C.E) while writing the Rajatarangini. Srivara, *Zainatarangini,* Eng. trans. J. C. Dutt, City Book Centre, Srinagar, 2011, pp. 2-5

[17] The two English translations of Srivara's chronicle by J.C Dutt (1898) and the other by Kashi Nath Dhar (1994) have contributed to the widespread usage of the title "Jaina-Rajatarangini" which is in conflict with the evidence as Srivara nowhere call his work as Jaina-Rajatarangini (River of Kings) but Jaina Tarangini (River Zain). For details see Walter Slaje, *A Note on the Genesis and Character of Śrīvara's So-Called "Jaina-Rājatara□gi□ī"* Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 125, No. 3 (Jul. - Sep., 2005), pp. 379-388.

[18] Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Perspective on Kashmir*, Gulshan Books Srinagar, 1983, p. 102

my endless obligations to him and partly of my attraction to his merits."[19] Although, following the style of Kalhana, he emphasises his own inferiority to that of his predecessor-Jona Raja on one hand as he wrote "what a difference between the production of my master and that of mine, I who am possessed of little sense",[20] while on the other hand he provides an indication of his generosity as he wrote "I will describe according to my understanding what has not been mentioned by my guru."[21] However, Zaina Tarangini provides in-depth details about the Persio-Asian influences on religio-cultural developments in Kashmir during the Sultanate period. It also provides information regarding the measures adopted by the Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin for agricultural development in Kashmir. Then after Srivara, the tradition of Sanskrit writing was carried on by composing *Rajavalipataka* by Prajyabhatta who adorned the court of *Phathia* (Fateh shah) giving an account down to the year 89 (1512 C.E).[22] Hence, it needs to be underlined that although Sanskrit works and their translation in Persian language are mainly and directly relevant for the historians of Kashmir of the Sultanate period, yet their value for understanding the historical context or the background of the proposed area of research cannot be undermined.

Moreover, the only contemporary source of information in Sanskrit is Suka's *Rajatarangini.* This book deals with the socio-economic and administrative conditions of the 16th century. It also gives detailed information about the arrival of Emperor Akbar (A.D 1556-1605) to Srinagar and how he was taken in a huge boat procession in the river *Vitasta* (Jhelum). The measures adopted by the Emperor Akbar to conciliate the Hindus have been adequately discussed by the chronicler. It also analyses how a strong military control was maintained in order to rule the newly conquered state of Kashmir by the Imperial Mughals. According to Suka, "the inhabitants of these mountains were struck with fear at the prowess of the Emperor, and at the sight of his army" He further states that, "as men catch birds by giving them bits of meat as fish is caught in water by means

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19 Srivara, *Zainatarangini,* Eng. trans. J. C. Dutt, City Book Centre, Srinagar, 2011, p. 2

20 Srivara, *Zainatarangini,* p. 2

21 Srivara, *Zainatarangini,* pp-2-3; *kenapi hetuna tena proktam madguruna nay at* ||*tacchesavartinim vanim karisyami yathamati*||*Jainatarangini* 1.1.16

22 J. C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmira*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, Second reprint, 2009, p. 407.

of hooks, as skilful men induce animal to come near by throwing corn at them, even so did *Kasema Khana* to overcome the inhabitants of the country by distributing wealth amongst them."[23] The chronicler also describes the intermittent skirmishes between the natives and the Mughal army even after the annexation. Similarly, it gives an account on the "*Nagar Nagar"* fort at *Hariparbat* constructed by Akbar so that people could find employment and at the same time provide a protecting wall to Mughal troops against the attack of the local patriots. All these works of Sanskrit genre have been translated into English by *Jogesh Chander Dutt* under the title *Kings of Kashmir.* This was last of the series of Sanskrit *Rajatarangini's* to have been written in Kashmir. But, the successive Persian chroniclers influenced by the Sanskrit *kavya's* continued the tradition of a mixture of 'history and legend' and 'love and patriotism', started by Kalhana Pandit in 12th Century A.D.

II. THE PERSIAN SOURCES:

1. LOCAL / PROVINCIAL

The history of the Persian historiography of the Valley of Kashmir goes back to Sultan Yusuf Shah, when Syed Ali bini Syed Mohammad Magrey compiled *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* in A.D 1579. Although, defective in chronology Syed Ali's *risala* is an important source for understanding the spread of Muslim rule in Kashmir and is the only extant Persian work which offers a detailed account of the Pre-Mughal history of Kashmir. According to A.Q. Rafiqi, "from the contents of the work it is evident that Syed Ali did not compose his *Tarikh* for the glorification of or at the behest of any ruler or patron."[24] It is mainly a religious account that highlights with hyperbole the miraculous missionary role of the *Sufis* and the *Sayyids,* who came from Central Asia. But unlike the latter writers, the author does not attribute Syed Ali Hamadani's migration to Kashmir as a result of Timur's persecution, but states that before coming to Kashmir, Syed Ali sent two of his cousins to explore the religious and political atmosphere there. Notwithstanding its religious character, the chronicle also provides information about the policies of the state

[23] Suka, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. Trans., *Kings of Kashmira*, Jogesh Chander Dutt, Vol. III, Delhi 1990, p .73.

[24] Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi, *History of Kashmir*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2011, p. 11

towards its subjects and the measures taken for the agricultural development in Kashmir. The memoires written afterwards, were directly influenced by the *Tarikh* of Syed Ali as, almost all of them wrote on the Sufi *Sadats* of Kashmir.

A more informative and valuable treatise on Kashmir written in A.D 1614 by an anonymous author is *Baharistan-i-Shahi*. The chronicler following the Sanskrit tradition of Kalhana begins with a legendary account of the creation of Kashmir and a summary treatment of the Hindu period up to the reign of Jahangir in Kashmir. Nothing concrete is known of the author except that he worked in the service of *Baihaqi Sayyids*, an Iranian origin group of Sayyids, who came to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. This work is written in orate and verbose style but is rich in chronology. According to K. N. Pandita, "*Baharistan-i-Shahi* is essentially a political history of medieval Kashmir, though a few aspects of Kashmiri society such as its feudalistic character, group and factional alignments, communal tensions and recurrent internal power struggles can also be gleaned from it."[25] The anonymous author elucidates with high pomp and show the role of the founder of Nurbakshiyyah order i.e., Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi. Besides, it also gives information about the condition of the Pandits in the Valley of Kashmir. The concluding portion deals with the Mughal rule in Kashmir and explains the relation of native chiefs and the Mughal ruling classes. Moreover, this work provides information about the last *Chak* rulers (Yusuf Shah and Yaqub Shah) who were exiled by the Mughals. It further tells us about annexation of Kashmir and its subsequent loss of Independence. The chronicler believes that it was the infighting within the Kashmiri's that resulted in their defeat against Mughals. This chronicle is in the form of a manuscript, available in the Research and Publications Department, Srinagar.

The most well known indigenous Persian History of Kashmir is that of Rais-ul-Malik Haider Chadurah's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* composed in A.D 1620-21. The work written in eloquent style aimed to compose and trace the genealogies of his ancestors on one side and provide an account of the rulers of Kashmir from the ancient to this own times on other side. Haider Malik belonged to a noble family; was a *faujdar* of two parganas;

[25] Anonymous, *Baharistan-i Shahi*, (A.D 1614), Eng. Trans., Kashi, Nath Pandit, Firma KLM Private Limited, Delhi, 1988, p. 1

served the last Chak ruler (Yusuf Shah) for twenty four years; and also accompanied him in exile. Later on, he rendered greater service to the Mughals and participated in the assignation of *Sher-Afghan* and gave protection to *Mehr-un-Nisa* (Nur-Jahan). As a reward, Emperor Jahangir conferred on him the title of *Chagatai* and *Rais-ul Mulk* and appointed him and his family members on high *mansabs* and was given *jagirs*. Being a contemporary, Haider Malik Chadurah's *Tarik-i-Kashmir* is a valuable document providing information on various aspects like numerous rivers, streams, buildings and the geo-graphical description of the parganas of Kashmir, besides a brief account of the Sufis. A copy of the manuscript is preserved in the Research and Publications Department, Srinagar.

Narain Koul Ajiz, a Kashmiri Brahman wrote *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, almost a century after Suka's Rajatarangini. He, thus, revived the Hindu historiographical tradition of the Valley. Although a short account of history from earliest times to 1112 A.H (A.D 1710), it is a valuable supplement to the history of Kashmir written on the initiative of Arif Khan, the Mughal governor of Kashmir from A.D 1710-1711. This work is based on Haider Malik Chadurah's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* and the *Baharistan-i-Shahi*. The work is very important as it contains information about the political struggle of Yusuf Shah and his son against the imperial Mughals. It also contains details about pargana- wise numbers of the villages and the assessment of revenue by Qazi Ali during the reign of Emperor Akbar. A copy of this manuscript is preserved in the Research and Publications Department, Srinagar.

The other important source is Muhammad Azam Diddamari's *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, an abridgment of the earlier works compiled in A.H 1160 (A.D 1747). It is a valuable source of information based on the previous scholarly works like Kalhana's *Rajatarangini,* Mirza Haider Dughlat's *Tarikh-i- Rashidi* and Haider Malik Chadurah's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*. Writing about the previous historical compositions *Diddamari*, at the very outset remarks, 'the most significant limitation of these works is that they were composed by those who were attached to the royal courts and they wrote at the behest of their lords, and thus, ignored the *Sufi* mystics'.[26] Other than the political history of the

[26] Muhammad Azam Diddamari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* Urdu trans., Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, J&K Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, p. 11.

ancient past, though in brief, it gives us detailed information about the rulers on spot/ subahdars, who were appointed to run the administration by the Mughals. The author seems to have adopted a balanced approach as both positive and negative aspects of the subedars have been recorded. For example, a repressive policy of Itiqad Khan, subahdar of Kashmir, during the reign of Jahangir and the measures taken by Zaffar Khan for the beautification of the valley has been recorded by the author. He has also recorded information about the '*begar*' (forced labour) which prevailed in Kashmir during the Mughal period. Other than this, the work also narrates those events which shaped the physical and social landscape of the Kashmir, such as fire, epidemics, earthquakes, famines and the raids of the tribes of Poonch and Muzaffarabad. In addition to this, Diddamari has given a good deal of information about the poets and saints of Kashmir. It was first published in Lahore in A.D 1886 and soon after was its translated into Urdu by Munshi Ashraf Ali and Shams-ud-din Ahmad.

An important indigenous Persian work is Pir Ghulam Hassan Shah Khuihami's *Tarikh-i-Hassan*. He was a religious preceptor, who served as a guide to the Settlement commissioner of Kashmir, Walter Lawrence. For his *Tarikh,* the author researched the earlier thirty historical compositions.[27] The work is written in four volumes, almost covering the entire gamut of the history of Kashmir from its first King Gonanda I to Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The first volume is devoted to geography of Kashmir; volume second, to the history of political antiquity of the valley; volume third is collection of hagiography of *Sufis* saints; and the fourth volume is devoted to the Persian poets of Kashmir. Thus, it serves a mine of information on socio-cultural and political history of Kashmir from ancient times to its authorship in 1880's. It was translated into Urdu by Moulvi Ibrahim and published by Noor Mohammad Press of Srinagar in 1961.

2. NON-LOCAL / CENTRIST

The work of Mirza Haider Daughlat's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* compiled in A.D 1550-1551 is an important work on the History of the Turks of Central Asia. The chronicler was a cousin of Emperor Babar and had invaded the valley twice, first on behalf of the Sultan Said of

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[27] Pir Ghulam Hassan Shah Khuihami, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, Vol., I, Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, City Book Centre, Srinagar, 2003, pp. 36-47.

Kashgar in A.D 1533 and then after his death served the Mughals under Mirza Kamran; attacked Kashmir from Lahore in November A.D 1540 and succeeded in occupying Kashmir without striking a single blow. His rule lasted for ten years from A.D 1540 to 1550 before he was murdered. Haider Daughlat, the ruler and a prolific writer and an excellent poet was deeply motivated by the Arabic style of writing history in which frankness and *usul-i- isnad* are as important as the description of geo-political and socio-economic nature. For writing his work, he gathered information from many sources as he himself remarks that "Kashmir is one of the most famous spots in the world, yet on account of its secluded position, it is seldom visited by any but those who do express object of their journey. I have given such details as I have been able to verify; having derived them from the trustworthy sources and also from the natives. I have taken its position, size, and extent from geographical works".[28] Thus, it is a fine blend of autobiography and a memoir and is an outstanding and authentic work of his times. Although, surprisingly Haider Daughlat chose Persian over Turki which was his mother tongue and was widely read and valued in Central Asia. It seems that the motivating factors for the author were the surroundings in which he was writing his *Tarikh*. His explanation on various aspects of Kashmir is marked by some grave inaccuracies. But his account on the geography of Kashmir is based on his personal observations and is by and large correct and upto the mark. It also provides information about the classification of land, topography, art and crafts. About climate, he says "I have neither seen nor heard of any country equal to Kashmir for the charm of climate during all the four seasons".[29]

Abu-l Fazl ibn Mubarak, the most influential ideologue of Emperor Akbar's *Ain-i-Akbari,* occupies a place of distinction and has left a mark on the traditions of historical writings in Medieval India. It is a unique work and the greatest historical account for understanding the Mughal India. It was compiled in between A.D 1589-1595 and has been written in three volumes. Abu-l Fazl's discussion on ancient past of Kashmir heavily depends on the indigenous Sanskrit compositions. He presents Kashmir both a spiritual and worldly paradise and a holy ground created by Hindu sages. *Ain-i-Akbari*

[28] Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, (Eng. Trans., from Persian, N. Elias and E. Denison Ross*, "A History of Mughals of Central Asia",* Renaissance Publishing House, Delhi, reprinted 1986, p. 430.

[29] Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, p. 425.

paints a complete view of the Akbar's government and the working of different departments during his rule in Kashmir; it also provides minute details on geography, economy, polity, flora and fauna, dress and diet, and costumes, bazaar system, pargana-wise revenue returns etc. He also refers to the religious beliefs, notable *Sufis* and *Rishis*, social customs and habits of the people of Kashmir. He has also given information on agriculture and the variety of fruits grown in Kashmir. A detailed account has also been given about the cultivation of saffron which was a 'State Monopoly'.

In *AkbarNama,* which was compiled in between A.D 1596-1602, Abul Fazl Allami in order to legitimate the Mughal rule in Kashmir provides a detailed account on the Mirza Haider Daughlat's rule (A.D 1540-1550). The relations between the Mughal and the Chaks have been mentioned. The chief significance of the *AkbarNama* is that it portrays minutely the economic aspects like, method of land revenue assessment and organisation, state's share and the mode of payment. It also gives a brief discussion of the revenue rates of yield per-unit crop, without the details on the average produce.

The *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh* of Abdul Qadir Badauni also gives information about the famous Sufis and the men of letters in Kashmir. His account on Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, a Chishti saint and the political advisor of Saint Sheikh Hamza Makhdoom, is useful as he had played an important role in the Mughal occupation of Kashmir. There are also valuable references about Akbar's relations with the indigenous Chak rulers.

Another important source is *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* of Emperor Nasir-ud din Mohammad Jahangir, which was compiled in A.D 1605-1627. He had great liking for Kashmir. He wrote whatever he observed during his pleasure sojourns to this heaven on earth. It provides us the best picture of the agrarian history as a supplement to Abu-l Fazal's *Ain-i-Akbari*. The *Tuzuk* offers most delightful description of the Kashmir, as he wrote, "If the qualities and merits of Kashmir were to be described (in full) it would fill many registers".[30] Similarly, it gives information about climate, flora and fauna, agricultural products, the technique of grafting, the social life and the various fairs and

[30] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* ed. Saiyid Ahmad, Ghazipur and Aligarh, 1863-64; Eng. Trans., Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, 3 Vols. Delhi, 1968, Reprinted, 2006, pp. 303-06.

festivals, celebrated by the people of Kashmir. Its English translation by Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge is worth to be used.

Mutamid Khan's *Iqbalnama Jahangiri* another important historical source, was completed approximately three years after the death of Jahangir (in A.D1630). It provides information about the important developments inside and outside Kashmir. It gives useful references with regard to Kashmir's relations with Askardu, Ladakh and the Kishtwar. Similarly, it provides interesting information on the plague which occurred in A.D 1616 and about the social life of Kashmiris; the code of dress of the people, revenue assignments; the Mansabs; and the serene beauty of the Valley. The translated version of Mohammad Zakaria Mayil is worth consulting.[31]

The other non-local Persian source is Abdul Hamid Lahori's *Badshahnama* written at the behest of Emperor Shahjahan. It records adequate information on geography, political developments and the agricultural products of the valley of Kashmir. Lahori has also depicted a picture of the famine which occurred in Kashmir around A.D 1641 and the measures taken by the Emperor Shahjahan.

Mohammad Salih Kanbu's *Shah Jahan-Nama or Amal-i- Salih* is yet another source on the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan. It is in Persian script consisting of four volumes. Its first two volumes describe the geography of Kashmir, its climate, agricultural products, revenue returns and military expeditions led by the chiefs of Tibet. *Tarikh-i- Shahjahan* by Sadiq Khan is another source which illuminates us about the important events that occurred in the court of the Emperor Shahjahan. It gives useful references with regard to socio-economic conditions of the people of Kashmir. *Alamgir Nama* by Muhammad Kazim a contemporary of the Emperor Aurangzeb provides adequate information on Kashmir's socio-cultural history.

Thus, in order to construct a comprehensive picture of Kashmiri society during the Mughal era with its various dimensions, an appropriate and cautious scrutiny of the both types of the source materials i.e. local / provincial and non-local / centrist is necessary. The comparative evaluation is rather imperative.

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[31] Mutamid Khan, *Iqbalnama Jahangiri*, Urdu translation by Mohammad Zakaria Mayil Karachi, 1963.

III. HAGIOGRAPHICAL LITERATURE:

The hagiographical literature is of utmost importance in constructing the social history of Kashmir. It has been found almost everywhere in the Muslim societies. It fulfils the gap created by the political chroniclers. But, while handling this type of source material one must have a scholastic aptitude than of a preacher as, the personalities of the saints or the *Pir* mostly written by their disciples or *murids,* were wrapped up in supernatural stories, myths and miracles. There appears a firm attempt on the part of their biographers to glorify the deeds of their masters. However, despite this unscientific and serious drawback, the importance of hagiographical literature cannot be out rightly rejected. The Valley of Kashmir known as *Pir-Vaer* i.e. land of *Pirs*, *Sadats* or *Munnis* produced a large number of hagiographical literature which is a mine of information on the socio- religious history. The primary hagiographical sources used and analysed for the study are *Dastur-us-Salikin* or *Wirdul-Muridin*, written by Baba Dawud Khaki in A.D 1554-55; *Rishi-nama* of Baba Nasib completed in A.D 1631-32; *Asrar-ul-Abrar* of Baba Dawud Mishkati written in A.D 1653; *Tuhfatul-Fuqara* of Mohammad Murad Tang written in A.D 1710-11; *Futuhati-i-Kubrawiyya of* Abdul Wahab Nuri written in A.D 1748-49.

Among other important sources which provide important information on the saints and the mystical orders are *Khawarikh-u-Saalkeen* by Ahmad Bin-Sabur *Khumsa-i- Bahaudin* by Bahaudin and *Panj Masnavi* by five authors such as Salim, kalim, Mir illahi, Ahsan and Khisali Harvi.

IV. TRAVEL ACCOUNTS

With the establishment of the Mughal rule in Kashmir, the first Europeans, Father Jerome Xavier (nephew of great Catholic Francis Xavier) and Benedict de Goes a Portuguese, accompanied Emperor Akbar to Kashmir in A.D 1597. Father Jerome Xavier’s *Letters* published around A.D 1605 were first to introduce the chanting beauty of Kashmir to western world. His description of the natural beauty, its climate, transport and means of communication, Mughal visits, the catastrophe of A.D1596 and its impact on the people is important to construct the social history of Kashmir. The letters of Father

Jerome were first printed by Oramus, and it was translated from Spanish to English by H. Hosten.[32]

Remontrantie compiled in A.D 1626 by Francisco Pelsaert is primarily a general commercial document on India, but fortunately it furnishes valuable information on geography, society and economic aspects of Kashmir. This work has been translated into English from Dutch by W.H. Moreland and P. Geyl under the title of *Jahangir's India*.

The most valuable account on Kashmir by any European traveller is Francois Bernier's *Letters*.[33] Bernier, a French physician attached to Moghul Darbar, came to Kashmir with the royal cavalcade of Emperor Aurangzeb in A.D 1665. It furnishes a vivid picture of seventeenth century Kashmir, its people, culture, geography, myth and religion. The author wrote about the land and the people that, "the whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants and covered with our apple, plum, apricot and walnut trees bearing of fruits in great abundance. The private gardens are full of melons, radishes, most of our potherbs and others with which we are unacquainted. The fruit is certainly inferior to our own. Nor is it in much variety; but this I am satisfied, is not attributable to soil, but merely to the comparative ignorance of the gardeners, for they do not understand the culture and grafting of trees as we do in France".[34] He has also raised many contentious issues about the people of Kashmir like there resemblance with Jews and the Solomon's visit to the valley for example, as he puts it, "On entering the kingdom after crossing the Pir panjal mountains, the inhabitants of the frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews. Their countenance and manner, and that indispensible peculiarity which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jewish appearance of these villagers having been remarked by our Jesuit Father, and by several other Europeans, long before I visited Cashmere (Kashmir)." Thus, caution is needed while studying this source as it seems the chronicler represents mere occident

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32 Father Xavier, "*Letters from Kashmir*", Sept., 1597, Eng. trans. from Spanish, H. Hosten, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. XXIII, 1927.

33 These letters were originally written in French and later on were published in book format. Its first publication came in 1670 and then subsequently, it was translated by Irving Broach in 1826. In 1870 came Voyages de Francois Bernier and in 1891 *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, edited by Constable and Archibald.

34 Francois Bernier *Travels in Mogul Empire*, C. *1656-68,* trans. by Constable and Archibald, New Delhi, reprint, 1968, p. 397

than the orient and his construction of man and land as Eurocentric and a full of racial overtone. It is interesting to note that his construction was carried on with minor modifications by the Europeans who visited to the valley of Kashmir till late nineteenth century.

Apart, from these contemporary travel accounts there are various other sources which are useful for writing Mughal history of the Valley of Kashmir. [35] Though they highlight some of the human and noble features of the local people, but they, too, have their own limitations, motives and complexes, for instance, they convey the "colonial bent of mind," "white man's burden," and "civilizing mind set" of the Europeans.

V. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOURCES AND INSCRIPTIONS

The Mughal rule in Kashmir may not have been impressionable politically but it will always be remembered for the eternal legacy the Mughals have left behind, such as the gardens; buildings; inns and Serais; bridges; and shrines, which are helpful in understanding the diverse aspects of Mughal rule in Kashmir. The historical information transmitted from the inscriptions available on these archaeological sites is very important in understanding the measures taken by the rulers. Although, issued and written by the imperial orders and at the behest of the rulers, these inscriptional sources at various places like Kathi Darwaza Srinagar, Jamia Masjid Srinagar, Mosque of Mullah Akhwand Shah, Khanqahi Shieikh Hamza, Chashma Shahi and on the walls of Verinag Spring, furnish information about the majestic benedictions of the Mughal rulers in Kashmir. These should be critically examined.

VI. HISTORIOGRAPHY ON MEDIEVAL KASHMIR

Though, there is a vast plethora of literature written on modern Kashmir, but not much scholarly work has been done on the Socio-Cultural and Economic history of Kashmir under the Mughals. Among the known scholarly works Mohibbul Hasan's, *Kashmir*

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[35] George Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England Through Northern Parts of India,* 2 Vols., London, 1808. William Moorcraft and George Trebeck*, Travels in Himalayan province of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir*, *in Peshawar, Kabul, Kanduz, and Bokhara,1819-23,* 2 vols., London, 1841; reprint, 1992. G.T, Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo, Countries adjoining the Mountains courses of the Indus and the Himalaya, north of the Punjab*, 2 Vols. London,1842. Sir Francis Younghusband, *Kashmir*, Sagar Publications, New Delhi, 1970, City book Centre Srinagar, reprint, 2008.

Under the Sultans **(1959);** R.K. Parmu's *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir A.D 1320-1819* **(1969);** G. M. D. Sufi's *Kashir: Being A History of Kashmir From The Earliest Times To Our Own* **(1969);** Abdul Majid Matto's *Kashmir Under the Mughals* (A.D 1586-1752) **(1988)** and Mushtaq Ahmad *Kaw's The Agrarian System of Kashmir* A.D 1586-1819 **(2001)** are especially notable ones.

Mohibbul Hasan's *Kashmir Under the Sultans* is concerned with the Muslim rule in Kashmir especially the Sultanate period. In the last chapter of his work, Hasan has discussed Mughal conquest of Kashmir, but he neither explains Mughal ruler's attitude towards the subjects and nor the impact of the Mughal supremacy on the people.

R. K. Parmu's seminal work, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir* (A.D 1320-1819), is primarily a narrative account of political history of Kashmir. He has discussed the major political developments of Kashmir during the period of nearly five centuries of Muslim rule, with some information on socio-economic and cultural aspects. The political developments especially include Mughal –Chak War and the steps taken by Akbar during the famines. However, he does not mention the impact of the Muslim rule on the public life and even does not view the Mughal rulers as very different from the native rulers. His view on the Mughal conquest of Kashmir is that 'it ceased to be an independent state'. Nevertheless, the Kashmiri freedom fighters never ever regarded the occupation of Kashmir as final and irrevocable. He states that 'Kashmiris were relegated to a very insignificant position. They were treated like a conquered people and like all defeated people they lost their splendid isolation, their independence, their self-respect and their martial bearing'. His assertion that the incorporation of Kashmir into the Mughal Empire imposed stagnation, might be questioned, as for example, the presence of Kashmiri artists in the royal court indicates that the Mughal Empire offered a wider scope for the talent outside the valley of Kashmir.

G.M.D Sufi's *Kashir*: *Being a History of Kashmir from the Earliest Times to Our Own,* is a general study about political history of Kashmir from the ancient to the modern times. However, he has devoted a chapter on the Mughal rule in Kashmir, which is of elementary nature. According to Sufi, 'the Mughals weakened the courage of the hitherto martial Kashmiris and broke their independence spirit'. One of its limitations is that the

author has not consulted variety of source materials and his use of unpublished source material is conspicuous by absence.

Abdul Majid Mattoo's *Kashmir Under the Mughals* **(**A.D *1586-1752),* is actually the first work that directly deals with Mughal rule in Kashmir. It is largely based on the Persian sources. The work has been divided into three sections. The first section deals with the annexation of Kashmir and its consolidation under the Mughals. The second describes the cultural aspects like garden culture and the Mughal architecture in detail. The last one deals with the economic condition of the Valley. Mattoo's view is that the 'Mughals undermined the spirit of independence, self-realisation and the flowering of the martial characteristics of the Kashmiri people'. At another place he writes 'the Mughal rule ushered in an era of wide spread political and social relations, peace and tranquillity, social and sectarian harmony, promotion of Industry and trade' without caring to explain its effects on the indigenous people and their response.

Another scholarly work is of Mushtaq Ahmad *Kaw's The Agrarian System of Kashmir (A.D 1586-1819),* a doctoral work submitted to the University of Kashmir in 1985. In 2001, an extended and revised version of this thesis appeared under the same title. This work breaks fresh ground in historical research, as it provides a critical understanding of the Persian, the Urdu and the Kashmiri sources. Kaw's research is a full-fledged and his in-depth analysis of the agrarian system of Kashmir under the Mughals and Afghans is praiseworthy. He has discussed in detail the agricultural production, the condition of peasantry, land revenue and the allied agricultural activities. He is the first historian who has highlighted the exploitative nature of the Mughal rule in Kashmir. He writes that with the onset of foreign rule, new institutions developed and the indigenous culture registered changes of far reaching consequences. In his view, Mughal governors proved 'tyrannical, barbarous and uncultured, which in turn proved baneful for the Kashmir'. Kaw's work of economic history contains much less information on the socio-cultural aspects.

The other important sources are *Valley of Kashmir* written by Walter Lawrence; *A History of Kashmir* by P. N. Kaul Bamzai; *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* written by Pt. Ram Chandra Kak; *The Gardens of the Great Mughals* by Mrs. Villiers Stuart; *Sufism in Kashmir* by A.Q. Rafiqi; and *Kashmir Transition to Islam* by Mohammad Ishaq Khan.

Apart from the above mentioned important sources, there are many other works with direct bearing on the proposed area of research, are mentioned in the bibliography.

On the basis of the source material of various categories, mentioned above, it must be said that, an objective approach of disciplined methodology of research, we can construct a fairly account and dependable picture of the socio-cultural and economic life of the people of Kashmir.

CHAPTER-2

MAPPING THE REGION: GEOGRAPHICAL AND GEO-STRATEGICAL ASPECTS

Who has not heard of the Vale of Kashmir
With the brightest roses the earth ever gave,
Its temples and grottos and fountains clear
As the love-lighted eyes that hang over their wave?

Sir Thomas Moore, *Lalla Rookh*

MUGHAL PERCEPTION OF KASHMIR AND KASHMIRIS:

The fabled Vale of Kashmir lies in the lap of lofty snow-sprinkled majestic Himalayas, the world's most distinctive landmark, if not unique, which never had disappointed the expectations of its visitors. It has been called the abode of the gods, paradise on earth, and the Switzerland of Asia[1]. The celebrated historian Abul-Fazl appreciating its beauty as, "the country (Kashmir) is enchanting and might be fitting called it a garden of perpetual spring surrounded by a citadel terraced to the skies and deservedly appropriate to be either the delight of the worldling or the retired abode of the recluse. Its streams are sweet to the taste, its waterfalls music to the ear and its climate is invigorating. The flowers are enchanting and fill the heart with delight. Violets, the red rose and the wild narcissus cover the plains."[2]

Emperor Jahangir paid glowing tribute to the Kashmir in these words "If one were to take to praise Kashmir, whole books would have been written. Kashmir is a garden of eternal spring or an iron fort to a palace of kings, a delightful flower bed, and a heart expanding heritage for *dervishes*. Its pleasant meads and enchanting cascades are beyond all description. There are running streams and fountains beyond count. Wherever the eye reaches, there are verdure and running water. The red rose, the violet and the narcissus grow of themselves; in the fields, there are all kinds of flowers and all sorts of sweet-scented herbs more than can be calculated. In the soul- enchanting springs the hills and the plains are filled with blossoms; the gates, the walls, the courts, the roofs, are lighted

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1 Sir Francis Younghusband, *Kashmir*, Sagar Publications, New Delhi, 1970, p. 2.

2 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng., trans., H. Blochman, Vol. II, Low Price Publication, Delhi, 1927, reprinted 1994, pp. 143-144.

up by the torches of the banquet- adoring tulips."[3] In fact, even the axiom of Kashmir, 'the paradise on earth' was coined by the Mughal emperor Jahangir.[4] Francoise Bernier remarks that, "In truth, the kingdom surpasses in beauty all that my warmest imagination had anticipated."[5] The modern British historian Walter Lawrence wrote in 19th century about the valley of Kashmir, "an emerald set in pearls; a land of lakes, clear streams, green turf, magnificent trees and mighty mountains, where the air is cool, and the water sweet, where men are strong, and women vie with the soil in fruitfulness."[6]

Though, from time immemorial, its exquisite beauty and pleasure loving physical conditions rather than its human history have been appreciated by poets, sages and monarchs, the history of its people had often been portrayed in black colours and if mentioned, reduced to limitations of a page. Ill-fated inhabitants of this so-called eternal land, remarks Abul Fazl, "is the bane of country".[7] Emperor Jahangir even denigrated them as "animal like Kashmiris".[8] Shah Nawaz Khan denounced Kashmiri's as of 'seditious intriguing nature.'[9] The sagacious Emperor Aurangzeb called them *bepir* (vicious) and *be-ta-miz* (lacking discretion).[10] If this all was not enough, the derogative remarks were popularised which can be reflected from the folklore. For instance:

Agar qahat-ur-rijal uftad az an seh mihr kamjui
Awwal Kumbu, doyum Afghan, siyum badzat Kashmiri.
Zeh Kumbu hila me ayad zen Afghan kina me ayad
Zen Kashmiri na me ayad bajuz anduh wa dilgiri[11]

Its English rendering is that,

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3 Jahangir, *The Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, or *Memoirs of Jahangir* (Eng. trans. by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge), Vol. II, New Delhi, p. 114.

4 G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir, : Being a History of Kashmir From the Earliest Times to our Own*, 2 vols., Light and Life Publications, New Delhi, 1974, Vol., I, p. 295.

5 Francois Barnier, *Travels in Mogul Empire*, (Eng. Trans., Archibald Constable), New Delhi, 1968, p. 351n.

6 Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Katib Ghar, Srinagar, 1996, p. 13.

7 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., III, p. 358.

8 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir*, Vol., II, p. 148.

9 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Saiyar*, Vol., I, p. 105.

10 Vide R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, Peoples Publishing House, Delhi, 1969, p. 436; Showkat Ahmad Dar, *Legacy of Mughal Rule in Kashmir (1586-1753*), Punjab History Conference Patiala, 2013.

11 Cf. Abdul Ahad, *Kashmir Rediscovered*, Humayun Publishing House, Srinagar, 2006.p. 182; R.K. Parmu, *1320-1819*, Peoples Publishing House, Delhi, 1969, p. 275.

> 'do not expect any help from three categories of people even if you are suffering from famine i.e. the Kumbus, the Afghans and the indiscreet Kashmiris. The Kumbus cheat you by their cunning; the Afghans will only spite you and the Kashmiris will only narrate their own sob stories and end up trying to get something out of you rather than giving you anything.

I

GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND OUTLYING REGIONS:

The celebrated Valley of Kashmir, a half-closed ecosystem is the foci of our study, is surrounded by a great bowl of crags of Great Himalaya and the Pir Panjal with one narrow gap near the north-west end (*Varmul*) by which the drainage of the valley and of the inside slopes of the mountains escape to the sea.[12] It is about 84-89 miles long and 20-25 miles broad (135-140 by 40-45 kms) with a floor which in the Jhelum flood plain is only 5, 200 feet (1585 mts) above the sea level lying in between 33° 30' and 34° 40' North latitude and 74° 20' to 75° 40' East longitude.

Until mid-19th Century AD, the term 'Kashmir' geographically does not denote the modern State of Jammu and Kashmir comprising the Indian administered areas of Kashmir Valley, Jammu and Ladakh; the Pakistani-administered Gilgit-Baltistan and the Azad Kashmir provinces and the Chinese-administered regions of Aksai Chin and Trans-Karakoram tract, but only the Valley between the Great Himalayas and the Pir Panjal Mountain ranges or simply the area drained by the headwaters of Jhelum (*Vitasta*) and to the inner slopes of the ring of mountains that surround it.[13] To make this point more explicit by delineating the boundaries of the Kashmir both from the contemporary and near contemporary sources, especially *Ain-i-Akbari* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, which provide sufficient information regarding the extent and boundaries of the Mughal *subahs* and *sarkars* of Hindustan in general and Kashmir in particular during the times of Emperor Akbar, these sources describe Kashmir in detail, as the authors were highly impressed by

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[12] Fredrick Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, Oriental Publishers, Delhi: rep. 1971, p. 161

[13] For details see C. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir and the Adjoining Districts of Kishtawar, Badarwa, Jammu, Naoshera, Punch and the Valley of Kishanganga*, Calcutta, 1873, pp. 1-2 and map; Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire,* Oxford University Press, 1982, p. 6.

the scenic beauty of the region. In addition, they look upon it as 'a holy land' full of sacred places and hermits.

Abul-Fazl, the court historian of Akbar, included the *sarkar* of Kashmir in the *subah* of Kabul- the north-westernmost *subah* of the Mughal Empire which was comprised of Kashmir, Pakhli, Bhimber, Swat, Bajaur, Qandahar, and Zubulistan; its capital was formerly Ghaznah and latter Kabul.[14] Its Cis-Indus part, which may be divided into proper Valley of Kashmir and the outlying regions broadly constituted in 1586, the kingdom or Sarkar of Kashmir. Broadly speaking, the Mughal Suba of Kashmir was larger than the present valley, but unquestionably much smaller than the present state of Jammu and Kashmir.

The descriptions of the boundaries and the area of Kashmir given by various medieval writers significantly vary from one another, as its boundaries have frequently been shrinking and swelling from time to time. According to Mirza Haider Daughlat, the plain *(julga)* of the Kashmir extended from the Bakani quarter which means "between the south and the east," towards the Rikan Bain (on north-west); it is a level expanse about a hundred *kruh* ('kos' equivalent to thirty *farsakhs*) in length. Its width is at some parts about twenty *kruh*, and in a few places ten *kruh*."[15] Abul Fazl, the ideologue of Emperor Akbar, describes its boundaries as "On its East are Paristan and the river Chenab, and on the South-East Banihal and the Jammu mountains, and on the North-East, Great Tibet; on the West, Pakhil and the Kishan Ganga river; on the South- West, the Gakkhar country and on the North- West little Tibet".[16] Furthermore, Kashmir borders Lahore in the north, remarks Abul Fazl. [17] The statement of Abul Fazl is not correct as in between these two territories Rajauri and Punch were the independent states. Similar mistake had been made by the reputed scholar Irfan Habib, while framing the political map of Kashmir.[18]

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14 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 115, 347; Kashmir assumed the status of full-fledged province *(Subah*) under Emperor Nuru-ud-din Mohammad Jahangir (1605-1627 AD).

15 Mirza Haider Daughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Eng. Trans. from Persian, N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, *"A History of Mughals of Central Asia"*, Renaissance Publishing House, Delhi, reprinted 1986, p. 424.

16 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng., trans., H. S. Jarrett, Vol., II, p. 351

17 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 315.

18 He included both Punch and Rajauri within the boundaries of Kashmir. See Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1982, map 3 (A).

Moreover, according to Abul Fazl, the entire area of the Valley from Qambar Ver to Kishan Ganga is hundred twenty Kos in the length and ten to twenty five Kos in breadth.[19] While as Emperor Jahangir in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* mentions that the measurements given by Abul Fazl were mere guesswork and conjectures. To overcome this problem, Jahangir, out of prudence and caution appointed a number of trustworthy and intelligent men to measure the length and breadth with ropes (*tanab*). The result was that what the Shaikh (Abul Fazl) wrote as 120 *kos* came out as 67 *kos*. According to him the length of Kashmir from the pass of Buliyasa to Qamabar, as fifty-six Jahangiri *kos* long, and the variation in breadth were found to be not more than two *kos*.[20] He further adds that the boundary of country is the place up to which people speak the language of the country; it follows the boundary of Kashmir.[21] Muhammad Saleh Kamboh places the Kashmir in the South-North direction, from the Qasbah of Verinag up to Darwaza Kutal belonging to the *pargana* of Dachhina and Khawara as 100 *kruh* and its width from Moza Koknah in the east up to Firozpura of *pargana* Bangil, about 30 *kruh*. [22] Bernier, who accompanied Emperor Aurangzeb, placed Kashmir to the north of Lahore, enclosed by the mountains at the foot of Caucasus, those of the kings of Great Tibet and Little Tibet, and of the Raja Gamon, who are its most immediate neighbours. He further added that it is about thirty leagues in length, and from ten to twelve in breadth. [23] The differences in the geographical extent of Valley of Kashmir given by these sources were mainly due to

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[19] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire,* pp. 351-32 Qambar Ver (ancient Kramavarta) was a watch station on the Pir Pantsal range. Stein, Chron. II, p. 292.

[20] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., Alexander Rogers, Vol., II, p. 298; Buliyasa is 11 *kos.* The *kos* that were in use during the Jahangir's reign was same that of his father. Kos is 5000 yards and the yard is 2 sharfi yards, each of the latter (yards) being 24 digits (*angusht*). *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 147-148.

[21] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., Alexander Rogers, Vol., II, p. 298.

[22] *Shahjahan Nama*, Vol., II, p. 25.

[23] F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire 1656-68,* Eng., Trans., p. 395. According to Abul Fazl Kashmir borders Lahore in the north. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 315; More reliable and comprehensive account of the geography has been given by F. Drew and Walter Lawrence. They put the Valley of Kashmir approximately eighty four miles in length and twenty to twenty five miles in breadth and the whole area within the mountain boundaries which surrounds may be estimated at about 3,900 square miles. F. Drew, *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, p. Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 12; See also Stein, *Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, p. 64.

the faulty measurement rather than any other particular reason. Moreover, from the detailed description of the *parganas* available in both Mughal and regional sources the exact politico-administrative boundaries of the region under study can be demarcated.

II

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS:

Traditionally, for administrative purposes, the whole valley of Kashmir had been divided into two major divisions, one comprising upper part known as the *Maraz* (Madavarajya) and the lower part called the *Kamraz* (Kramarajya).[24] Furthermore, they were subdivided into number of administrative units formerly known as *Visayas*, and in the Sultanate and the Mughal times as the *Parganas* or the *Mahals*.[25] Each pargana had a number of villages, varied in size and number which formed the unit of administration.[26]

Describing the Mughal Empire, the author of *Tarikh-i-Hasan* imperfectly has mentioned that Emperor Akbar divided his empire into nineteen *Subahs*, and counts Kashmir as one among them.[27] However, the systematic account recorded by Abul Fazl mentions that Emperor Akbar's kingdom was divided into fifteen *Subahs*, and Kashmir was a *Sarkar* belonging to *Subah* of Kabul.[28] It had thirty-eight *Mahals* and one among them was *Mahal* of Srinagar.[29] It must be remembered that the city of Srinagar was called by the same name, as the country, that is, "Kashmir." [30] Accordingly, with the exception

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24 From the various references in the Rajatarangini, Abul Fazl and Tuzuk-i-Jahangir makes it clear that Maraz comprised the districts on both sides of Jhelum (Vitasta) above Srinagar, and Kamraz those below. Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Vol., II, p. 436; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 176; Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 298.

25 For details Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, *Eng., trans.*, H.S. Jarrett, Vol., II, pp. 94-96; See *Rajatarangini*, V. p. 51; Viii, p. 1260, 1413; Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol., III, pp. 548-549; Anonymous, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, p. 250.

26 Muhammad Azam Didamari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmed, Vol., I, p. 460

27 Shah Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Urdu trans., Moulvi Ibrahim, "*Tarikh-i-Kashmir*", Srinagar, *1957*. pp. 243-44.

28 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, pp. 115, 347.

29 Hasan, *op.cit*, pp. 243-44. Irfan Habib states that *pargana* and *Mahala* are synonym terms. *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, Oxford University Press, New York, (Reprinted) 1963, pp. 2-3.

30 Bernier, *op.cit*., p. 397; Wakefield, *op.cit*., p. 91; F. Drew, *op.cit*., p. 183.

of Mirza Haider Daughlat, Abul Fazl and Jahangir and almost all the Mughal chroniclers call it either Kashmir or *Shahr-i- Kashmir*. Also, we find that Bernier in Aurangzeb's time, and Forster, who travelled in this country in 1783, use the name Kashmir and not Srinagar.[31] The province lies upon both sides of river *Bihat* (Jhelum) which winds in a meandering course with many islands and finally falls into the Indus. Reproducing the report of Asaf Khan, Abul Fazl has mentioned that there were thirty-eight *parganas* in Kashmir. And when Qazi Ali appointed the staff, he distributed the population of Kashmir into forty one *parganas*. The difference in the number was actually due to the amalgamation of some and the splitting up of the other *parganas*. For instance, Qazi Ali added the two *parganas* of Karnah and Drawah which were bifurcated from pargana *Kamraz*. Then a new pargana was created by dividing *pargana Sairu'l Mawazai* (village group) into two units.[32] Depending upon the circumstances, adjustment and readjustment in the number of *parganas* were made by adding together or bifurcating the villages from them.[33]

III

Immediately outside the Valley of Kashmir, the mountain regions almost in every direction were occupied by the refractory hilly chieftains. On the north-east, two powerful chiefs were the rulers of *Tibet-i- Khurd* (Baltistan) and *Tibet-i- Kalan* (Ladakh), respectively. The rulers of these principalities had often been at war with each other. From time to time, they owed allegiance to the Sultanate rulers and paid them tribute.[34]

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[31] F. Drew, *op.cit*., p. 183; Wakefield, *op.cit*., p. 91;

[32] Forty villages of Maraz district were united under the name of pargana Haveli and retained eighty-eight villages of Kamraz according to the former distribution under the separate name of pargana Sairul Mawazai. *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., I, pp. 243-45. For details see *Ain-i-Akbari*, second edition corrected and annotated by Sir J. N. Sarkar, pp. 365-68.

[33] Niccolao Manucci in *Storia Do Mogor*, mentioned that the province of Kashmir has forty-six Parganas. Vol. II, 1990, p. 388; while as author of *Tarikh-i-Hasan* estimated 38 Parganas and 3208 villages. Narain Koul Ajiz, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, estimated their number 37 Parganas and 3274 villages. MSS No. 71, Farsiya Akhbar, Manuscript section, MAL, AMU, Aligarh, (C. 1710), ff. 41a–42a; Birbal Kachru, *Majmuat-Tawarikh*, make mention of 36 Parganas and 3425 villages.

[34] Pir Ghulam Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* Vol., I, Srinagar, 1954, pp. 217-19; See also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under The Sultans*, p. 37. Abul Fazl does not specify either *Tibet-i-Khurd* or *Tibet-i-Kalan*, but loosely make mention of Tibet. But from the Akbar Nama we learnt that the expedition was in-fact sent only against *Tibet-i-Khurd.* Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol., III, p. 823. In pre 1947, *Tibet-i-Khurd* (Baltistan) was part of Ladakh, and along with Gilgit, these regions were administered from Kashmir (Srinagar).

On South-East lay Kishtawar, a tributary of Kashmir, since early times, and a place of refuge for the rebels of Kashmir.[35] On South-West of Kashmir was the principality of Rajauri, founded by ruthless *khasas*,[36] and in 16th century, it was ruled by the Muslim chiefs.[37] Pakhli was on the west of valley of Kashmir and like other principalities, it was tributary of Kashmiri Sultans and accepted their overlord ship.[38] Pakhli according to *Ain-i-Akbari* was a *sarkar* of the *subah* of Kabul but after the separation of Kashmir and Kabul it was attached to the *subah* of Kashmir.[39] The other neighbouring principalities were Punch, Gilgit, Damtur, Karna, Dachna and Khavra.[40] Once the power changed hands from the Chaks to the Mughals in the Kashmir, the chiefs of these principalities submitted themselves to the new masters, though not without stiff resistance.

IV

THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF KASHMIR

A transverse valley enclosed from all sides by high mountain ranges characterized by snow covered lofty peaks is endowed with a distinctive geographical advantage. Situated in the midst of the great civilizations of the ancient and medieval world, Kashmir maintained its contacts through a number of passes, leading through its natural defences; afforded ways for trade and commerce, cultural intercourse and through military invasions. It provided a valuable window to great civilizations like the Chinese, the Indian and the other Central Asian civilizations.

In A.D 1590 Emperor Jahangir married a daughter of Ali Rai, Chief of Skardo brought by the Mughal ambassador Haji Mirza Beg Kabuli. *Ain-i-Akbai*, Vol., I, p. 310.

35 Hutchinson, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol., II, Lahore, 1933, pp. 640-41

36 *Rajatarangini*, II, p. 122, iii, p. 227, v, 39; II, pp. 291-92

37 Hutchinson, *History of Punjab Hill States*, Vol., II, pp. 669-82; Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, Vol., II, p. 17; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., III, p. 539

38 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol., III, pp. 559, 565, Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 125; Kamgar Husain, *Maasir-i-Jahangir*, ff. 125-26

39 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 397; Pakhli had a well defined boundary that helped it in the development of a distinct culture and language. Emperor Jahangir gives its description as "The sarkar of Pakli is 35 kos in length and 25 in breadth. On the east, on two sides, is the hill country of Kashmir; on the west, Atak Benaras (Atak); on the north, Kator; and on the south, the Gakkar country." *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol., II, p. 126. *Dastur-i-Amal-i-Shahjahani*, f. 7; see also *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, p. 273

40 Ibid, p. 560; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 172; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., I, p. 227; Karna is mentioned as a village of pargana Kamraj. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 176;

Being inextricably intertwined with their territories, the impulses of these civilizations always had direct bearings on the society, culture and territorial integrity of Kashmir. The people shared many cultural traits with other cultures because of the cumulative result of the long series of contacts or the shared ancestry. From these 'borrowed complexes', the people of the land inherited distinct identity which helped them to live in peace for the most part. The Kashmiri identity was such a special type that the Mughal Emperor Jahangir could not distinguish a Kashmiri Muslim from a Hindu, but could distinguish the Kashmiri from the Mughal.

The importance of the region can also be better viewed in the backdrop of the relation between the states which have common borders and in case of Kashmir its location, according to a subaltern historian, Ramachandra Guha, 'gave the strategic importance quiet out of proportion'. The political changes outside Kashmir intensified the geo-political and geo-strategic significance of the bowl shaped country. Though a land locked country was known to the Persians and the Greeks, it too remained a part of many big empires, for instance, the Achemaniede,[41] the Mauryas, the Indo-Greeks, the Sakas, the Parthians, the Kushans, [42] the Kidarites, the Huns, the Turks and latter on the Mughals, the Afghans, Sikhs and the Dogras. It was Emperor Ashoka (273-232) who founded the capital city of Kashmir, Srinagar in 250 BC, and brought it into the Mauryan Empire. Srinagar very quickly evolved into a flourishing city with "ninety six thousand dwellings resplendent with prosperity."[43] However, it may be noted that no alien power could have ever conquered it until the weakness in the system of governance had not

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41 In 516 B C. the Achaemenian ruler of Iran Dairus extended his empire upto India by annexing Sindh and Gandhara. Greek Sources also testify the fact that at the time of Iranian invasion Kashmir was a part of Gandhara. Upto the Alexander's invasion of India in 327 BC, Achaemenian rules continued to rule in Kashmir for about 200 years. For details see *Milinda Panha,* pp. 331-32; Ray Chaudhary, *Political History of Ancient India,* p. 103

42 During the Kushan period, Kashmir became a great centre of Buddhism, even Kanishka Summons the Fourth Buddhist Council in Kashmir in which hundreds of Buddhist savants participated. S. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western world,* pp. 151-55.

43 Sir Aurel Stein, *Rajatarangini of Kalhana,* Vol., II, pp. 439-41

existed. It had rightly been written by historian Pandit Kalhana that 'Kashmir may be conquered by the forces of spiritual merit but never by the force of soldiers.'[44]

True, Kashmiris in third century BC, more easily succumbed to Buddhism and by the eighth century CE to Brahmanism and then once again in the fourteenth century to Islam. Nevertheless, they surrendered so easily to force. From the dawn of civilization, the biggest misfortune that the people of Kashmir have experienced is that they have been successively ruled by the fortune seekers. History is testimony to the fact that most of the societies in the world have experienced colonialism in one or other form, but the uniqueness of Kashmir among those colonial countries of the world is the centuries of foreign rule. Those foreign rulers had affected the Kashmiri ethos so deeply and had subjected its people to their whims and diktats- a tradition which even today is not absent.

V

In A.D 1586, Kashmir became a Mughal Province and the rule lasted for about one hundred and sixty-seven years (A.D 1586-1753). Why afterall 'mountainous bowl' was annexed by the Mughals in1586 ? even though after recurring failures, is a question that needs elucidation and thread bear discussion.

Kashmir occupied a special place in the psyche of the Mughals long before its formal annexation in 1586 by Emperor Akbar. Timur showed a great interest in Kashmir but passed away without the annexation; his interest could be seen from his statement mentioned in his autobiography. He writes:[45]

> I made enquiries about the country and city of Kashmir from men who were acquainted with it and from them I learnt that…Kashmir is an incomparable country…in the midst of that country there is a very large and populous city. The rulers of the country dwell there. The buildings of the city are very large and are all of wood, and they are four or five storeys high. They are very strong and will stand for 500-700 years. A large river runs through the middle of the city. The inhabitants have cast bridges over the river at nearly thirty places.

Sultan Sikander, who was then occupying the throne of Kashmir, accepted his lordship and in token sent him two elephants in gift. Thus Timur contented himself with tribute

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[44] *Rajatarangini*, I, p. 31, 39

[45] Cf.Sufi, *op.cit.*, pp. 96-97

paid by the ruler of Kashmir. Sultan Sikander's diplomatic policy saved the country from Timur. Similarly, Kashmir for long retained its isolation cum independence by mere contenting the fortune seekers by gifts and Tributes.

When Zahiruddin Babar, great grandson of Timur, established his rule in India, Kashmir was passing through a period of political turmoil, sectarian differentiation and social operation. The Magray and the Chak clans were opposing one another by tooth and nail and when Abdal Magre requested Babar for help, he readily responded by commissioning Sheikh Ali Beg, Muhammad Khan and Mahmud Khan, to help Abdal Magre.[46] With the help of the Mughal forces, the power was restored by the disgruntled noble and the Mughal army contented themselves with ransom and tribute. Thus, Kashmiri nobles in order to settle their internal problems requested the foreign elements for help, which later on, resulted in loss of independence.

Babar died in 1530, but attempt to annex Kashmir was carried on by his successors. In October-November 1531, Kamran, brother of Emperor Humayun and the governor of Punjab sent a punitive expedition under the command of Mahram Beg Koka.[47] The Kashmir army offered no résistance whatsoever. This episode has been recorded by a contemporary, Suka in the following words: [48]

> The cowardly Kashmiri's placed their soldiers within forts. The citizens went out by different ways to the caves of the mountains in fear and as Malecha solders outnumbered the Kashmiri fighters the latter were destroyed. The Mughals who had destroyed Qutubdina found the beautiful capital empty, and in anger set fire to the houses and places then they killed thousands of people in the capital of the kingdom.

The barbarianism of the Mughal forces united the divided Kashmiri camp into the Chaks and the Magreys, two influential families, to fight jointly against the Mughals. It resulted in bloodshed and ultimately the defeat of Mughal soldiers at Athwajin and, they had to retreat in disorder.[49] Very shortly, in 1533 another Mughal incursion was directed towards

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46 *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, pp. 120-21

47 *Ibid*, pp. 135-36

48 Suka, *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans, J. C. Dutt, p. 369-70

49 For details, see R. K. Parimu, *The History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir, 1320-1819*, Peoples Publishing House, Delhi, 1969, p. 207

Kashmir by Sultan Said Khan of Kashgar under the command of Mirza Haider Daughlat, maternal cousin of Babar. He entered Kashmir easily at the head of 4000 horses. Initially, he met feeble résistance from the divided house of Kashmiri's. But later on, the Kashmiris adopted guerrilla warfare, many of them died, but they continued their fight and the forces of opposite camp were compelled to sue for peace, and accordingly an agreement was arrived. Mirza Haider and his soldiers were allowed to depart on the last day of the month of *shawwal* 939 A.H. (May, A.D 1533).[50] The event has been described by Mirza Haider Daughlat, as:[51]

> Government in Kashmir was at that time conducted in name of Mohammad Shah. Among the Maliks of Kashmir, after Ali Mir who was killed, there were Abdal Makri, Kazi Chak, Lahur Makri and Yak Chak. When terms of peace were proposed they were very thankful, but they did not credit, wondering how people who had once conquered such a beautiful country could be so sense less as to give it up… the khutba was read and coins were struck in the exalted name of khan (Sultan Said Khan)… Muhammad Shah daughter was wedded to Iskandar Sultan.

After the death of Sultan Said Khan of Kashgar, Mirza Haider Daughlat left the court of the Kashgar ruler Abdul Rashid Khan and joined the service of the Mughals at Lahore. On May 17, 1540, the might of the son of Babar was tested by the Afghan commander, Sher Shah Suri at Kanauj. Sher Shah dislodged him by root and branch and drove Humayun into long and hurried exile.[52]

Meanwhile, the political situation in Kashmir was fluid and the kingmakers, (the Magreys and the Chak nobles) more often engrossed themselves in the seesaw gamble of installing men of their choices on the throne. For instance, Sultan Shams-ud-din II ruled for one year (1537-38) and was successed by Ismail Shah (1538-40) by the active support of Kachi Chak. The discontented nobles, Abdal Magre and Regi Chak through Khwaja

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[50] Showkat A Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of the Valley of Kashmir under the Mughals*, M. Phil Dissertation, G. N. D. University, Amritsar, 2012, p. 17.

[51] Mirza Haider Daughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Eng., trans., pp. 439-441; for details *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, p. 130-32; G. M. D Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p. 94.

[52] For details see Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol., I, Eng., Trans., H. Beveridge, p. 360; H. Elliot and John Dowson, *The History of India as Told by its own Historians*, Trubner and Co, London, 1871, Vol. V, p. pp. 143-45.

Haji, appealed Mirza Haider Daughlat for help against Kaji Chak.[53] Mirza Haider Daughlat suggested the exiled Humayun to make Kashmir his base of power against Sher Shah, but the brother of Humayun, Kamran, was reluctant to this plan.[54] However, when Humayun abandoned Lahore, his exiled home, he provided a small force of 400 troops to Mirza Haider to conquer Kashmir. Mirza Haider, a great strategist and planner initially marched along Pir Panjal route upto Noushera and then opted the longer route of Punch because of being unguarded; he reached the capital city, Srinagar without résistance and a single blow in battle.[55] Hearing the news of his arrival, Kaji Chak fled to Agra and sought help from Sher Shah Suri. The anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* puts it, as:[56]

> …Sher Shah sympathised with him (Kaji Chak) profusely and conferred upon him the title of *Khani-i-khana*, and even provided him with as much assistance as he desired...

The furious battle took place at Watanar (near Shopyan) in which the combined forces of Afghan and Kaji Chak were defeated by the small force of Haider Mirza.[57] This also decided the fate in his favour; he declared titular Nazuk Shah as Sultan and ruled the state of affairs for almost eleven years before being murdered on 19 November 1550.[58] About

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53 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol., I, p. 359.

54 The Kashmiri nobles were continuously writing letters to Mirza Daughlat to conquer Kashmir and all the time he used to bring it to Jahanbai's notice of Humayun. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol. I, Eng., trans., p.360.

55 Mirza Haider Daughlat, *Tarikh-i- Rashid*i, Eng., trans., E. Denison Ross and N. Elias, p. 483; About the plan see *Akbar Nama*, Vol. I, Eng., trans., p.360

56 Anonymous, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, Eng., trans., K.N. Pandita, pp.135-36

57 *Ibid*, see also Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol., I, Eng., trans., p. 360; For details Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, pp. 129-133.

58 Mirza Haider Daughlat ruled Kashmir for ten years from 1541-1551 A.D struck coins and read khutba in the name of Humayun. He adopted ruthless policy against Nurbakshiyyah order and equated Islam with Sunniism. According to him, "Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi introduced a corrupt form of religion giving it the name of Nur Bakshi (giver of light) and practised many heresies. He wrote a book for these cowardly people named the *fiqh-i-Ahwat* (comprehensive laws), which does not conform to the teachings of any of the sect whether Sunni or Shia. These revile the companions of the Prophet and Aiyesha, as do the Shia's, but contrary to the teachings of the latter, they look upon Sayyid Mohammad Nur Bakhsh as lord of the age and promised Mehdi. They do not believe in the saints and holy persons in whom the Shia's believed but regard all of them Sunnis." Mirza Haider Daughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 436; He arrested Shaykh Daniyal, son and successor of

his downfall the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* remarks that "he gains nothing from pursuing a ruthless and communal policy, except his own downfall."[59]

After the death of Mirza Haider Daughlat the Chaks took hold on the affairs of state, but the power slipped in and out from weak to weaker one, resulted in confusion and disillusionment at mass level. Furthermore, throughout the Chak rule, there was political corruption, social oppression and the sectarian schism which prompted a section of nobles comprising Sheikh Abdun-Nabi, Mulla Abdulla, Ali Koka and Dati-Koka to adopt the path of their predecessors-- requested Mughal Emperor Jalal-ud-din Mohammad Akbar to help them out of troubled water.[60] But, this time not surprisingly, a farsighted Emperor was not immediately galvanised into action, he adopted wait-and-watch situation and keeping themselves well informed of the developments in Kashmir and embarked on the diplomatic missions from time to time.

In the meantime, Akbar was successful in subjugating the territory of Gondwana (1564), Chittor and Ranthambore (1568), Kilangar (1569), Gujrat, Bihar and Bengal (1573-76).[61] But, the serious challenge and threat to the infant Empire of Akbar was from the invaders of central Asia or Persia which were always a source of concern to the Indian rulers. So, the Indian rulers had to keep an eye on the vulnerable points like Hindukush ranges which separates Central Asia from Afghanistan, Baluchistan and India is very low in the north of Herat and permits a passage to an invader from Central Asia or Persia to the Kabul Valley and then the lower plains of India.[62] In 1566, Mirza Hakim-brother of

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Mir Shams-ud-din and brought him back as captive; for nearly a year, he was enchained in prison and subjected to physical torture. A sum of one thousand five hundred gold coins (*ashrafis*) was also exacted from him and then was executed. Anonymous, *Baharistan-i Shahi*, p. 88. His harsh policy resulted in his decline. For details see Hakim Safdar Hamdani, *Tarikh-i-Shi'an-i-Kashmir*, Srinagar, 2002, pp. 43-45

59 *Ibid, p. 90*

60 Suka, *Rajatarangani*, Eng. Trans., J. C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmira*, Delhi, 1986, p.383; Baharistan-i-Shahi, 167; For details see R. K. Parmu, op.cit, p. 245-47; M. Hasan, op.cit, p. 285; Showkat Ahmad Dar, *Kashmir and An Appraisal of Mughal Rule*, Punjab History Conference, Patiala, 44th Session, 2012, pp. 140-146.

61 For details see R. P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Allahabad, 1972, pp. 192-225.

62 M. P. Srivastava, *Policies of the Great Mughals*, Chugh Publications, Allahabad, 1978, p. 113.

Akbar, driven from Badakhshan by Sulaiman Mirza, came to India and sought Akbar's help. But, he soon changed his mind because of being encouraged by the Uzbeg rebellion, and plundered Bhera, invaded Punjab and besieged Lahore. But fortunately for the time being, the threat was averted as he immediately returned to Kabul.[63] However, in 1580-81, Hakim Mirza at the head of 15,000 horses once again crossed Indus towards Lahore, but was unsuccessful to annex it due to the strong defence of Raja Bhagwan Das and Raja Man Singh. Later on, he was defeated by the duo at Khurd-Kabul. But, he continued to rule Kabul until his death in 1585 in the name of his sister Begum Bakhtunissa. After the death of Hakim Mirza, Raja Man Singh was given the charge of Kabul.[64] Akbar's soft policy towards his brother was actually to stop him joining the camp of Abdulla Uzbeg, who had conquered a large portion of Khurasan, Balkh, Tashkant, Andijan and the entire province of Badakshan.[65]

After returning from Kabul, Akbar turned his attention towards the frontier tribes and Kashmir, a motivating factor was to prevent the possibility of their being exploited by Abdulla Uzbeg and to block his way of entering and invading the Mughal territories. Moreover, Kashmir annexation had some meaning because of strategic interests of the vast Mughal Empire. Kashmir as said earlier, during the Chak rule was passing through political confusion and sectarian bickering. In this confusing atmosphere, Akbar sent a political mission under Mir Muqim and Mir Yuqab to Kashmir during the reign of Husain Shah (1563-1570) and in 1573 another mission was sent under Mulla Ashqi of Ghazni and Qazi Sad-ud-din of Lahore to the court of Ali Shah (1569-79). Both the missions were well received and were successful. Sultan Ali Shah proclaimed Emperor Akbar the sovereign of Kashmir.[66] After the death of Sultan Ali Shah, he was succeeded by Yusuf

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63 M. P. Srivastava, *Policies of the Great Mughals*, Chugh Publications, Allahabad, 1978, pp. 196-97.

64 *Ibid*, pp. 269-71.

65 Dr. Ishwari Prasad, *The Mughal Empire*, pp. 259-60.

66 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng., Trans., H. Beveridge, Vol. III, p. 356; For details see Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of Valley of Kashmir Under the Mughals*, pp. 19-20.

Shah though not without a hard struggle with his uncle Abdal Chak. Yusuf was more a poet than a prince. About him, the author of *Baharistan-i-Shah* writes:[67]

> He was well versed in music and Hindi, Kashmiri and Persian poetry. His compositions were popular with the lovers of music…He spent most of the time in physical and sensuous enjoyments. He amused himself with sport, gave himself up to the tune of flute and dulcimer.

Yusuf Shah's inclination towards poetry and music than the state of affairs cost him throne in favour of Sayyid Mohammad Baihaqi (wazir) and then Lohar Shah Chak (his cousin). Although they soon realised the difficulties of administration and invited Yusuf Shah to return, this has been versified by the local historian, as:[68]

> *Shaha faqr-u fana az ma I mulk u izz u jah az tu*
> *Ki dunya ra baqayi nist khvah az ma khvah az tu*

English translation*:*

> O king, renunciation and self annihilation behoves us kingdom grandeur and dignity are yours, the world is transitory, whether it belongs to you or to us.

However, the invitation was suspected to be a trap by the latter. Disgruntled Yusuf contrary to his earlier assertion of independence now approached Akbar for help, who was waiting for such an opportunity to come. It was a serious blunder on part of Yusuf Shah and a wonderful opportunity offered to Akbar to make headway in his long cherished mission. Emperor Akbar ordered Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf Khan Razavi to march to Kashmir and restore Yusuf Shah to the throne.[69] By the time Yusuf and Mughal army reached Lahore, the Kashmiri nobles got alarmed and a deal was offered by Lohar Chak through Abdal Bhat to convince Akbar about the futility of such conquest. Yusuf Shah realised that once the Mughal troops would enter Kashmir, they

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[67] *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, p. 219.

[68] Hassan Khoihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., II, p. 302.

[69] There are contrasting views on this point as per Mughals sources Yusuf Shah was provided an army to help but the author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* notes that although Yusuf pleaded for military aid, but his request was not granted by Emperor. Haider Malik Chadoora, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* Eng., trans., p. 78-81.

would seize the administration and he would be a puppet in their hands. He double-crossed the Mughals and slipped off, retained the lost throne without the Mughal army. [70]

Yusuf Shah's tactic was not to be taken too kindly by Emperor Akbar as he was not accustomed to such a kind of deception. In 1581A.D, when Akbar was marching towards the North-West frontiers a political mission was deputed under Mirza Tahir and Saleh Iqil to the court of Yusuf Shah demanding his personal presence. Yusuf Shah instead of himself first sent his younger son, Hyder, and then his elder son Yaqub Khan, with costly gifts. Emperor Akbar was totally displeased with this kind of gesture and decided to move in person. Yaqub Chak learnt all this, fled from the camp and went to his home. Suka Pandit has noted this, as:[71]

> …the king of Kashmir sent his son Yakuba to king Jyalladina, in order to serve him. Yakuba (Yaqub) went with full preparations and when king Jyalladina saw the presents given, he felt a desire to subdue Kashmir. And in order to fulfil his desire he gave necessary orders to Bagwandasa and other kings. And Yaquba on knowing this, returned to his own country and told his father that the king (Akbar) has sent Bagwandasa, against us…

On 19 October, instead of moving personally Akbar once again deputed mission comprising of Hakim Ali Jilani and Bha-ud-din, to persuade Yusuf to attend the court. Yusuf Shah once again was unmoved though he received envoys with respect.[72]

In A.D 1585, due to the disturbing situation created by the Roshaniyas- the followers of Bayazid in the north-west were against the authority of Mughal Emperor Akbar. Also, in 1585, the Yusufzais led a revolt in the areas of Bajaur and Swad. Thus,

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70 The deal was-- Yusuf could return to throne if he would come without Mughal army. Having lured Yusuf Shah away from Mughals Lohar Chak gave a battle to him at Sopore on 8 November 1580, but ultimately Yusuf emerge victorious. For details see Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, pp. 164-65; G. M. D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p. 113; Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of Valley of Kashmir Under the Mughals*, pp. 21-22.

71 Suka, *Rajatarangini*, Eng., Trans., J. C. Dutt, Vol. III, pp. 399-400; *Akbar Nama*, Eng. trans. H. Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 707.

72 Von Noer, *Kaiser Akbar*, Eng., trans., A. S Beveridge, *The Emperor Akbar*, Calcutta, 1890, p.189. According to Tarikh-i-Kashmir when the message was conveyed to Yusuf he got frightened, consult his Chiefs, wanted to attend the Mughal court; but no one among them accepted his view and were ready to fight against the Mughals. Haider Malik Chadoora, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Eng., trans., p. 98.

Akbar thought it better not to leave Kashmir in a state of doubtful loyalty and a safe sanctuary for rebels. On 20th December 1585, five thousand strong Mughal force was dispatched comprising of Mirza Shahrukh Bahadur, Raja Baghwan Das, Shah Quli Mahran, Madhu Singh, and Mubark K. under the charge of Mohammad Ali Akbarshahi, Sheikh Yaqib Sarfi, and Haider Shah, taking the Pakhil route which remained generally open in winter.[73] Battle took place at Buliyas pass but with no decisive results. The rigorous climate and severe winter too played its part in restricting the Mughal advances into Kashmir. The Kashmiri passion in the war against the Mughals outshined it's all limits as many as three thousand men were killed and the supply of food blocked to Mughal camp resulted in acute scarcity, even it was difficult to get a meal for *ashrafi* (gold coin).[74] A truce was concluded between Raja Bhagwan Das and Yusuf Shah but the terms were heavily loaded against the Kashmiris. The terms were "the pulpits and coins should make mention of the *Shahinshah* (Akbar), and that the mint, the saffron, the silk (woollen shawl) and the game should be imperial."[75]

After the concluding of treaty, Raja Bhagwan Das carried Yusuf Shah Chak from the village of Bolyas to the capital city of Lahore to pay homage to Emperor Akbar and return back to Kashmir. But on reaching Mughal court Yusuf Shah was imprisoned which was a clear violation on part of Akbar. The treatment of Emperor Akbar to Yusuf Shah Chak is according to Woosely Haig as "the chief blot in his character."[76] Court historian Abul- Fazl has described the private talks which Akbar made with Yusuf Shah, as:[77]

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73 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng., trans., H. Beveridge, Vol., II, p. 715.

74 *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, p. 230; Haider Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 159a; Mullah Ahmad Kashmiri described this situation as:

> *Gar Nazar bar hilal mi kardand,*
> *Labe-i-naam Khayal mir Kardand*
> *Gardan Khud daraz mi Khurdand*
> *Dahan az baz mi kardana*

Its English rendering is -- when they beheld crescent, they imagined it to be brim of bread, they peeped out the long necks, only to represent their greed.

75 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng., trans., H. Beveridge, p. 725.

76 W. Haig, *The Cambridge History of India: The Mughal Period*, , p. 293.

77 Abul Fazl, op.cit, p. 725.

> Why the kindness of Shahanshan (Akbar) has passed from his memory, and why the influence of his son – who had fled from the court—had increased, and had by stratagems turned back the victorious army. Why had he himself not added the glory of acts to his talk about peace? He had the grace to be ashamed, and to reply his silence. Yusuf Shah was handed over to Todar Mal.

After few years in political wilderness; he died unwept and unsung in Bihar merely as petty Jagirdar of 500 horses with an annual income of 3600 rupees.[78] After the treaty, the Mughal forces withdrew from Kashmir. Yaqub Chak, son of Yusuf Shah, ascended the throne as an independent Sultan under the title of Ismail Shah.[79] This treaty might have shocked and humiliated the mighty Emperor who cherished for long to annex it and made it part of a larger Mughal empire. He did not ratify this treaty.[80]

Meanwhile, during Yaqub's reign, there was greater unrest due to Sunni-Shia rift. The religious fanaticism proved fatal as the Sunni's became apprehensive of situation, ultimately Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, the leader of the religo-political delegation entered into a treaty with Emperor Akbar. By taking such a decision, they consoled themselves with the thought that orthodoxy could be saved by the support of Emperor Akbar. While as the subalterns hoped, as they always did, something better for them from the change of rule. The saint embassy made some provisions necessary before Emperor Akbar would annex Kashmir. The following were the conditions:[81]

(i) The ruling prince shall not interfere with religious affairs; the purchase and sale of the commodities; and the rate of cereals.

(ii) Kashmiris shall not be made slaves (As was the custom in Medieval times)

(iii) The inhabitants of the country shall not be molested or oppressed in any way; nor shall be they required to do *begar* (forced labour).

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[78] Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng., trans., H. Beveridge, p. 725.Haider Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 90.

[79] Mohammad-ud-Din Fouq, *Mukamal Tarikh-i- Kashmir*, Eng., Trans, R. K. Bharti, *A Complete History of Kashmir*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2009, p. 357.

[80] Abul Fazl, op.cit, p. 726

[81] Muhammad Azam, *Tarikh-i-Azami*, Urdu trans., p. 99; see also Mohibul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, pp. 183-84; G.M.D Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, Gulshan Books Srinagar, 2007, pp. 139-40; A. Q Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, pp. 235-236.

(iv) Those nobles of Kashmir who were a source of mischief shall not be given share in the administration.

Quite interestingly, from the above conditions, if true, the following facts can be discerned a) the proposal was of having a state with secular character, it meant the freedom, irrespective of distinction based on caste, social status and religion; b) the proposal aimed to safeguard the interests of the subalterns, rather to meet the exigencies of the social elites.

A reputed scholar of Kashmir A. Q. Rafiqi has, however, doubted the authenticity of this document; according to him, the story of his (Akbar) entering into an agreement with the Kashmiri Sufis and nobles seems to be later concoction as no earlier source either Mughal or Kashmiri have mentioned it. He further says, "it is unlikely that Akbar would accept terms, for he knew his own strength sufficiently well."[82] But there cannot be any doubt that the Kashmiri delegation to the court of Akbar was motivated by the Shia fanaticism which was further stimulated by the presence of Shia nobility.

On 28th June 1586, assured the full support from the Sunni embassy, Emperor Akbar despatched a large army and experienced officers like Fath Khan, Masnad Ali, Gujar, Ali Akbarshahi, Daulat Khangari, S. Sikander Rafiq, Shah Mohammad, Mir Abdur Razzaq Mammuri, Yadgar Husain, Lal Deo, Sonar Chand, Khawaja Zahir, Padshah Quli Shafaqat, Wali Beg, Hazari Beg and many other mansabdar's, Ahadis officers, and servants under the command of Mirza Qasim Bahr to invade Kashmir.[83] Mughal army crossed Bhimbar on 1st of September and on October 10th after serious fighting at Hastivanj, the last independent ruler of Kashmir was defeated. Though Yaqub Shah desperately tried to check the Mughal advance but Alas! He failed to get cooperation from fellow Kashmiris. Qasim Khan entered capital city of Srinagar on October16th 1586, sealed once for all times to come, as it seems now the dwindling fortune of the Kashmir's political sovereignty as the sun of independence set far behind the thick and dark clouds of political obscurity and social insecurity. Not-withstanding the humiliation, Yaqub Shah fled to Kishtawar, 'land of last hope', where from he launched surprise attacks on

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82 Cf. Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, p.236.

83 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng. Trans., H. Beveridge, Vol.III, p. 753.

Mughals. Ultimately, he surrendered before Akbar in 1589, was sent to join his father in the realms of wilderness under the custody of Raja Man Singh.[84]

V

On the basis of above mentioned analysis on Kashmir; its inhabitants; and its annexation by the Mughals, it is possible to draw the following conclusions:

i) Kashmir has had many appellations, all flattering, most undeserved: Enchanting Valley, Solomon's Garden, Switzerland of India, to name a few. In fact, the axiom of Kashmir 'the paradise on earth' was coined by the Mughal emperor, Jahangir. Importantly, the process of constructing the image of the proverbial beauty of the Kashmir started in the Mughal era, even this was time when Kashmir loomed large in the minds of Europeans through the writings of Father Jerome Xavier (nephew of great Catholic Francis Xavier) and Benedict de-Goes a Portuguese, who accompanied Emperor Akbar to Kashmir in AD 1597. However, the human history of the Kashmir has been less attractive, if mentioned, reduced to limitations of a page. They were barely deemed worth, as Mridu Rai states, 'the wastage in paint'.

ii) The Mughals recognised the strategic, military, socio-economic and political importance of Kashmir. Its annexation in A.D 1586, by Emperor Akbar, was actually enthused by imperialistic designs and the considerations of the security of the Larger Mughal Empire. Adequate steps were taken to establish *thanas*, and to maintain effective control over this area. Moreover, it was Akbar's concept of United India with one sovereign, which prompted him to annex hilly states like Kishtawar, Punch, Pakhil, Little and Greater Tibet, Rajouri, Sarsal Damtur, Damyal and Noushera, as the integral part, and to broaden the scope and the defence of the Mughal Indian Empire.

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[84] Abul Fazl, *op.cit,* p. 753-4; Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of Valley of Kashmir Under the Mughals,* p. 26. A contemporary, wrote on the terrible end of the Chaks as:

> *Na Az Yousuf Nishan Didam, Na Az Yaqoob Aasaare*
> *Azizan-i- Yousuf Az Gum Shud, Chi Shud Yaqoob Raa Baare*

CHAPTER-3

DELHI DARBAR: STRATEGY OF COERCION AND CONCILIATION

In henna I have dyed my hands,
When will he come?
I die, while he roams distant lands;
My heart is numb!

Oh, where is now the days delight
I have waited long
The golden wine cups of the night
To him belong!

The ritual of love is sweet
Could I adorn?
My love with jewels, perfume his feet,
Be no more torn,

Anoint him with my fragrant kiss,
Love, for your sake
The lotus of my heart in bliss,
Would block the lake!

(Habba Khatoon, Queen of Yusuf Shah Chak)

The longing lady of romance, Habba Khatoon, for her husband Yusuf Shah Chak, the last independent ruler of Kashmir, a victim of wile and guile of great Emperor Akbar, who by repudiating the treaty accredited by Raja Man Singh and Yusuf Shah, formed a trail of Kashmir's state of melancholy. Apart from conveying the desire of Habba Khatoon, the couplet also communicates the personal expression of the people's yearning for the return of independence. The violation of the treaty by Emperor Akbar, even as per the existing canons of justice and diplomacy, was an imperious malice. After all, the annexation was much more important for Akbar than the terms of treaty. When the news of the occupation of Kashmir reached the Mughal Darbar, there was an increase in the thanksgivings to God, and the deserving servants were exalted by various favours, remarks, the court historian, Abul Fazl.[1]

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[1] Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, ed., Agha Ahmad Ali and Maulavi Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind. Vols., Calcutta, 1873-87; Eng. Trans., H. Beveridge, Delhi, Vol. III, Low Price Publication Delhi, Reprinted, 2007, p. 775.

I

The Mughals had pursued a dual policy of repression and conciliation for the establishment and consolidation of their rule in Kashmir. The crushing of the opposition was not only practised in Kashmir, but also everywhere, the opponents had taunted them. The speciality of Kashmir was that the policy of coercion was adopted so firmly that once the dominant families of Chaks and Magreys had disappeared suddenly from the power hierarchy and from Kashmir's ethnic history. They were forced to adopt the job of wage earners and ordinary agriculturists.[2] Particularly, the Chaks were hardly allowed to have a sigh of relief and were consequently forced to go in for the marauding activities in the forests, they usually dealt in; Emperor Aurangzeb is said to have made a strict search to chastise them.[3] Moreover, the Mughals resorted to all kind of ruse and deception against them to achieve their meek ends. When the Mughal followers of Mirza Haider Daughlat failed to subdue Kashmiris, they called them 'bestowed band of infidels'.[4] Similarly, when Yaqub Shah and Shams Chak were fighting for the cause of their lost throne, Abul Fazl in a fit of enmity, called them 'two scoundrels'.[5] The firm policy of persecution adopted by the Mughals against the Chaks can be judged from the fact that the later one ruled Kashmir for many decades, though there is not a single family having Chak caste as their surname existing at present. There were numerous other castes that were doomed to the same fate. For instance in 1589, the chief members of the Khan family, like Hasan Khan and Aiba Khan, were killed by Mahabat Khan.[6] Zamindar caste of *pargana* Shahabad was excruciating reprimanded on having aided and abetted the tribal's of

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2 Muhammad Azam, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu trans., M. Ashraf Ali, Delhi, 1846 p. 102.

3 Vigne, G.T, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo, Countries adjoining the Mountains courses of the Indus and the Himalaya, north of the Punjab*, Vol., I, London,1842. pp. 301-302.

4 Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, (Eng. Trans.) from Persian, N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, *"A History of Mughals of Central Asia"*, Renaissance Publishing House, Delhi, reprinted 1986, p. 425.

5 Abul Fazl, *op.cit*, p. 798. There place was taken by hierarchy of Mughal officers who became responsible for administration of country.

6 Muhammad Azam, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu Trans., Ashraf Ali, New Delhi, 1990, p. 102.

Muzaffarabad. Its chief, Ali Malik, and Khawaja Kakru, the Raes of Baramulla, were murdered.[7]

The Chaks were exterminated root and branch and the process started with Qasim Khan Mir Bahr. He entered Srinagar on 16 October 1586 and proclaimed Akbar as the Emperor of the land and the *khutba* was read in his name.[8] However, it was governors or ‘rulers on the spot’, sent from time to time, who held the real authority. The immediate impact was that Kashmir lost its independence and was by no means able to find it again. Not surprisingly, the foundation of the Mughal rule in Kashmir was possible because of the superiority of the Mughal army. Emperor Akbar had sent his army to rule but according to Abul-Fazl, they were given strict guidelines ‘to practice enlightenment, justice, the non-sufferance of wickedness, the accepting of apologies and the chastisement of evil’.[9]

The main concern of the army was to maintain order, not law; and so far as practicing enlightenment, accepting of apologies and the chastisement of evil was concerned, they always ended up rather low on the list of priorities.[10] Had the command of the Emperor been heeded by the army, Pandit Suka, a contemporary, would not have given a horrifying description of the Mughals barbarianism. According to him, “as men catch birds by giving them bits of meat, as fish is caught in water by means of hooks; as skilful men induce animal to come near by throwing corn at them, even so did Kasema Khana (Qasim Khan) to overcome the inhabitants of the country by distributing wealth amongst them.”[11] Moreover, Qasim Khan, the first Mughal governor, crushed all opposition, who fought in the name of nationalism. He called Lohar Chak and his brothers from their hideouts on what turnout to be a false promise, and had them exterminated at Sopore; providing a horrifying scene, the chronicles say that the turbans were filled with blood issuing from the bodies of those who were slain, as if they were

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7 Hasan Shah, Tarikh-i-Hasan, Urdu trans., Moulvi Ibrahim, Vol., II Srinagar, *1957,* pp. 463, 201.

8 Abul Fazl, *op.cit*, p. 798; See also *Maasir-ul-Umara*, (Bib., Ind.), Vol., III, pp. 670-671

9 Abul Fazl, *op.cit,* p. *753*

10 Cf. M. J. Akbar*, Kashmir behind the Vale,* New Delhi: Viking, 1991, p. 40.

11 Suka, *Rajatarangini,* Eng., trans., J. C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmir*, Vol. III, Delhi 1990, p. 356.

wine cups of Yama".[12] Even as per one legend, Emperor Akbar, was enraged because of the fear of fighting spirit of the people of Kashmir, he told them in a fit of anger that "You Kashmiris have stomachs to eat but not to fight; Men- faint hearts, not lion hearts".[13]

Qasim Khan was replaced by Mirza Yusuf khan Razvi, who remained governor till 1590. The policy of repression was continued and the aim was to strike terror in the heart of those who rebel. The author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* laments that Muhib Ali, an employee of Yusuf khan Razvi, brought a group of local soldiers, who were promised employment, to Martand Spring in A.D 1592 on the pretext of arranging their portraiture (*chehreh nawisi*-recording their identity), but put them to sword. He further remarks that "the blood of the Muslims was shed like the gushing water of the *Muchh Bhavan* Spring".[14] Smashing all the potential for any insurrection, Bahram Nayak was poisoned along with his family members. Saif Khan Baihaqi, Ali Khan Dachanpuri and Ibrahim Chak were blinded.[15] Many refractory chiefs like Lohar Chak, Shams Chak, Alam Sher Magrey, Abdul Maali, Baba Mehdi, Bahadhur Khan, Ali Dar, Yusuf Dar, Haji Mohammad, Ismail Duni and Mubark Khan Baihaqi were exiled to India.[16] It is worthwhile to underline that in the initial three years (A.D1586-1589) of the Mughal imperium, as many as, twenty five thousand Kashmiris lost their lives.[17]

When Ali Shah Akbar (1601-1606) took over as the governor of Kashmir, he continued with the policy of his predecessors; immediately, invited Zafar Chak from Biru *pargana* through Qazi Saleh to make a beginning towards the friendship. Unaware of the evil intensions of the Mughals, he along with other seventeen nobles attended the Ali Akbar's court. But, they were imprisoned and then handed over to Hatim Khan, who

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12 *Baharistan-i- Shahi,* Eng., trans., K. N. Pandita, p. 263.

13 Maud Diver, *Royal India,* Appleton Century Co., New York, 1942, p. 274.

14 *Ibid,* p. 261; see also Showkat Ahmad Dar, *Legacy of Mughal Rule in Kashmir(1586-1753*), Punjab History Conference, Patiala, 2013; According to the author of Tawarikh-i-Hasan, Muhib Ali was an employ of Mohammad Qali Khan, Vol., II, p. 445.

15 *Baharistan-i- Shahi,* Eng., trans., K. N. Pandita, pp. 249-51.

16 *Ibid,* p. 251.

17 See *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXIII, pp.116-118.

massacred them near Rainawari.[18] To create a terror among the opponents, their dead bodies were displayed for the couple of days. Only when their corpses produced a stench, they were allowed to be buried.[19] Governor, Itiqad Khan's (1622-33) rule was ruthless; he overtaxed the agriculturists and levied taxes on fruits and the tax on other trees known as *Sar darakhti*; he revived *begar* on the picking of saffron.[20]

The general treatment of Kashmiris at the hands of the Mughals was simply oppressive and there are countless folk idioms in Kashmiri language which reverberate unostentatiously the repression and the incompetence of the Mughal rulers and their Governors. For example, in the Kashmiri folk idioms, the Mughals are disapproved and are called '*Poge Mogul'* which means the 'Mughal who brings grief'. In Kashmiri dialect 'Owl' is called '*Rateh Mogul'* means the Mughals at night, as the Mughals irritated them during day time. Furthermore, if someone to be accused for irritation, he is called '*Shikhas Mogul'* which means 'accused Mughal' etc. The pain of the people could also be realized from a popular Kashmiri saying:

Sonus Ropus Kurum dogul
Mogul Logum Balayee

English translation:

I gathered the gold and silver, but the Mughals took it away.

The Mughal Emperors entrusted the task of administrating the Subah of Kashmir to their Governors/ rulers on spot; though they were not always left purely free to act according to their wishes, but, off and on, the Mughal Emperors visited Kashmir to intervene and mitigate the problems themselves. Having maintained the superiority on the basis of military might, Emperor Akbar left Lahore for the valley on 27th of April 1589; reached Bhimber on 19th of May 1589; traversed the heights of the Pir Panjal, partly on horseback and partly on foot, entered the palace of the governor, Mirza Yusuf Khan Razvi, in

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18 *Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXIII, p. 263.

19 *Ibid,* p. 264.Their dead bodies were buried under the 'mound of ash'-Kral Mohalla Rainawari Srinagar.

20 He introduced *tarah-i-gul-i-zafran wa chidan-i-zafran* Hasan Kohami, op.cit, p. 482.

capital city of Srinagar at twenty five minutes past eight on the morning of 5th of June 1589.[21]

Having heard of the news of Emperor, the large number of Kashmiris arrived to see him, having hope for long cherished peace, tranquillity and prosperity. After, they had seen the great sovereign of India, celebrations were held in each house.[22] Emperor Akbar, however, did not let them down, he at once gave order and forbade the Mughal army to enter the private houses of people.[23] It is important to mention that the City of Srinagar had become headquarter of the Mughal army and the continuous engagement of the war with the Chaks had troubled the common residents. To alleviate their problems, Emperor Akbar fixed the camp for his army at Shahabpura.[24] Moreover, the stable and the organised Mughal institutions in administration were introduced. Sir Jadhunath Sarkar had enumerated this in a graphic style:[25]

a) The uniform type of administration throughout the Subah;
b) One Official language;
c) One uniform system of coinage;
d) an all-India cadre of higher public service, the officers being transferred from province to province every three or four years;
e) The frequent march of large armies from province to province;
f) Deputation of inspecting officers from the central capital.

II

The other element of the policy i.e. Conciliation went hand in hand with the former i.e. Coercion is clearly evident by the generous treatment meted out to those who remain loyal or helped the Mughals in times of their fight with the Kashmiris. For example,

21 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng., trans., Vol.III, pp. 764-765; See also Mohibbul Hasan, *op. cit*. pp. 192-193; R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir 1320-1819*,Peoples Publishing House, Delhi, 1969, pp. 284-285; V. A. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul* 1542-1605, p. 153.

22 For details Suka, *Rajatarangini*, p. 358; He was given a grand welcome by all sections of people. Abul Fazl, *op.cit.*, Vol., III, p. 543.

23 Abul Fazl, *op.cit*, p. 827.

24 *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, Manuscript, f. 149.

25 Cf. P.N.K. Bamazi, *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol., II, p. 396.

Haider Chak, got rewards from the Mughal Darbar for favouring the royal army at the time of the conquest of Kashmir.[26] Moreover, Yusuf Khan and Ibrahim Khan, got the Mansabs of one thousand each and were endowed with the *Jagir* of the Bukah and the Bumah in Dubah.[27] Qazi Saleh, son of Qazi Musa, who was executed by the son of Sultan Yusuf Shah, was appointed head of the judiciary by the Emperor Akbar. Haider Malik was conferred the titles of Chagatai and Rais-ul Mulk by Emperor Jahangir. He was appointed as the *Darogeh-Baghat-wa-Amarat* (custodian of buildings and gardens) and his family members were also given high *mansabs* by the Mughals.[28]

The Ulema's, poets and the Sufis were also lured into the service of the Empire and grants were given in favour of the shrines, the tombs and the schools[29]; adequate arrangements were also made for granting *madad–i-ma'ash* in kind and cash to the descendents of the Khans, the Sheikhs, the Sayyids and the Babas. [30] In order to woo the friendship of the Chieftains of the mountainous regions of Tibet and Karnah, the state often sought the service of the saints and the scholars.[31] They were also conferred titles, robes of honours and presents by the rulers. For example, the Zamindars of Rajouri and Tibet were conferred the titles of Raja;[32] the Zamindar of Poonch was presented *Khilat* comprising the articles 'dagger, sword, horse".[33] Also, special arrangements were made for feeding the needy and others who craved for help.[34]

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26 *Baharistan-i- Shahi,* Eng., trans., K. N. Pandita, p. 249.

27 Haider Malik, *op.cit,* pp. 93-94.

28 *Baharistan-i- Shahi*, *op.cit,* p. 266.

29 For details see *Tarikh-i- Hasan*, I, pp. 318-351. Emperor Shahjahan gave madad-i-mash and rupees twelve thousand to one of the Ulema of Kashmir. Lahori, *op.cit*, Vol., I, p. 198.

30 Sheikh Muhammad Arif was given the madad-i-ma'ash grant worth of fifty Kharwars in pargana Adwin. See for details Manuscript No. 2525, No. 574 / 2, No. 574/ 25 Iqbal Library University of Kashmir Srinagar. The descendent of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoom received a grant of 3600 dams from the revenue of pargana Nagam. Manuscript No., 608/8 Iqbal Library University of Kashmir Srinagar.

31 *Majmu'at Tawarikh,* ff. 122ab; *Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh*, Eng., trans., Vol., III, p. 265.; The role of the saints like Baba Talib Isfahani, Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi and Haider Chak should be viewed as an effort to win the goodwill of hilly chieftains.

32 Muhammad Kazim, *Alamgir Nama* , ed., Khadim Husain and Abd Al Hai, Calcutta, p. 836.

33 Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, Vol., II, p. 481.

34 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol., III, p. 846.

Emperor Akbar also brought into action another devised method of 'matrimonial alliances' to win the influential segments of the society and to cement the roots of the Mughal Imperium in Kashmir. He married with the daughter of Shamsi Chak, one of the Powerful zamindars of Kashmir.[35] The daughters of zamindar Mubarak Chak and zamindar Hussein Chak were wedded to Emperor Akbar's son, Salim.[36] Emperor Jahangir later married with another lady of the well known Jogi family, which bore him a daughter who died after one year.[37] Shah Jahan's son, Prince Murad Bakhsh, was married with the daughter of Malik of Shahabad[38] and Prince Shah Shuja was married with the daughter of Oghar Sen, Raja of Kishtawar.[39] Azam Shah, the son of Alamgir Aurangzeb was also married to a Kashmiri girl, which bore him son that became, later on, Mughal Emperor Farrukh Siyar.[40] Besides the ruling class, other courtiers were united with them by the same social contracts. It has frankly been admitted by Francois Bernier, who came to Kashmir with the royal cavalcade of Emperor Aurangzeb. He has described the women of Kashmir as 'very beautiful' and it is from this country that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines". In Justification of this, he writes:[41]

> "…there must be beautiful women among higher classes, if we may judge by those of the lower orders seen in the streets and in the shops…for besides being as white as those of Europe they have a soft face and are of beautiful height…in order that white complexion children could pass to Mughals".

35 Abul Fazl, *op.cit*, p.626; Hasan Khoihami, *op.cit*, p. 442.

36 Hasan Khoihami, *op.cit*, p. 442; Muhammad Azam, *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu trans., p. 149.

37 Muhammad Azam, *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu trans., p. 228; Hasan Khoihami, *op.cit*, p. 586.

38 Hasan Khoihami, *op.cit*, p. 523.; It was because of their relation with the ruling class, the zamindar families of Shahabad shot into prominence. *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, Habib Ganj Collection, f. 149a.

39 *Amal-i-Saleh*, Vol., II, p. 435; Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol., II, pp. 434.

40 *Majmuat Tawarikh*, f.178b.

41 Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire*, A. D. 1656-1668, second revised edition by Vincent A. Smith, (reprint), Delhi, 1997, pp. 404-405.

III

The other hallmark of Emperor Akbar was showing respect to the religious sentiments of the Pandits of Kashmir and it seems that their overall position improved during the Mughal rule. Jaziya was abolished; cash awards (*wazaif*) and land grants (*madad-i-mash*) were provided to the Brahmans.[42] They were treated as main component and the prime mover of Kashmiri society. During his second visit, Akbar enjoyed the saffron blossom at Pampore and celebrated Dewali with them.[43]

His third and last visit to Kashmir was on 6th June 1597; the timing of journey was determined by chance, as the royal palace in Lahore was burnt to ashes.[44] Better to wait until the reconstruction of palace, he thought to enjoy the beauty of Kashmir; accompanied by earliest known European visitors, Father Xavier and Bendict Goez.[45] About this visit, Father Xavier remarks: [46]

> …having no houses to live in and owing to the heats of Lahore which are very fast, he decided to come and pass the summer in this kingdom; this country being very cold….

But instead of pleasure outing, Akbar found a severe famine caused terrible devastation in Kashmir. The situation further deteriorated because of the presence of huge number of civil and military Mughal officials living in civil areas; as according to Father Xavier:[47]

> Owing to the kings coming, they have more than twenty-five thousand additional mouths to feed besides many horses and elephants. They ate whatever they stored up and so the poor folk suffer much and even perish.

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42 *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J. C Dutt, *Kings of Kashmira*, pp. 417-422.

43 Emperor Akbar entered Kashmir for the second time on 7th of October 1592, through Pir Panjal Pass; the tour was only half as long as first. Abul Fazl, *op.cit*, Vol. III, p.956.

44 Abul Fazl, *op.cit*, pp. 1084.

45 Maclagan, *Jesuits Mission to Akbar*, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1896, p. 71.

46 Father Xavier, Letters from Kashmir Sept., 1597, Eng., trans., H. Hosten, JASB, Vol., XXIII, 1927, pp. 115; See for details Showkat Ahmad Dar, *Kashmir and An Appraisal of Mughal Rule*, Punjab History Conference, Patiala, 44th Session, 2012, pp. 140-146.

47 Father Xavier, *Letters from Kashmir*, pp. 115-117; Mughal historian also admits the fact that by the coming of royal army the scarcity was increased. Abul Fazl, *Akbar-Nama*, Eng., trans, Vol. III, pp. 1086-1087.

The impact of the famine recorded by the European visitor, gives an impression of the magnitude of devastation in Kashmir. Even people agreed to change their religion for a piece of bread. He states:[48]

> Many mothers were rendered destitute, and having no means of nourishing their children exposed them for sale in the public places of the city. Moved to compassion by their pitiable site the father (Xavier) bought many of these little ones, who soon after receiving baptism, yielded up their sprits to their creator. A certain Saracen seeing the charity of the father (Xavier) gave it back to the mother, together these children brought him one of his own, but the father (Xavier) gave it back to the mother, together it certain sum of money for its support, for he was unwilling to baptise it, seeing that if it survived there was little prospect of its being able to live a Christian life in this country. At day-break the next morning, however the mother knocked the door of his lodging, and begged him to come to her house and baptise the child as it was about to die. Accompanied by some Portuguese he went with her to the house and baptise the child having first obtained the consent of his father. The latter, after it was dead, wished to circumcise it but this father would not permit, but buried with Christian rites. How great a deed?

To meet the challenge of the famine, Emperor Akbar took immediate measures by remitting the revenue and ordered a fresh assessment based on actual village papers (*khagaz-i-kham*); an order was also given that food to be imported from Punjab and Sialkot and distribute among masses.[49] To quote Abul Fazl, by his (Akbar) order, to alleviate the sufferings of the famine-stricken population “twenty places were prepared in the city for the feeding of the great and the small. Every Sunday a general proclamation was made in the *Idgah* (at Srinagar) and some went from the palace and bestowed food and presents on the applicants. Eighty thousand needy persons received their hearts desire”.[50] However, it is not clear from any source whether the affected rural population got any sort of benefit from the measures under taken by the Mughals.

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48 Maclagan, *Jesuits Mission to Akbar*, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1896, pp.71-72. The selling of children during the time of the natural calamities in medieval times does not seem any exaggeration, even the same can be evidenced from the Bihar famine of 1967 in which a twenty-five year old mother, selling her ten day baby to fend off the starvation. For details see Reader’s Digest, October, 1968, p. 54 cf. R. K. Parmu, *op.cit,* p. 298.

49 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, op.cit, Vol., II, p. 324; Abul Fazl, *op.cit,* Vol., III, 727.

50 Abul Fazl, *op.cit*, Vol., III, p. 1087; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, op.cit, Vol., II, p. 324; Showkat Ahmad Dar, *op.cit,* pp. 140-146. Mutimad khan in Iqbal Nama remarks that Abul Fazl

Furthermore, in order to supplement the Kashmiri people's employment, Emperor Akbar launched an imperial project; ordered the fort of *Nagar Nagar* to be constructed. [51] It actually met the dual purpose of state, first it alone provided work to thousands of people both women and men at wages higher than existing rates and secondly, a Mughal cantonment was constructed, as Akbar realised that the presence of the Mughal army in private houses of the capital city could pose a potential threat in near future to the Mughal Imperium in Kashmir. Sir Walter Lawrence in *The Valley of Kashmir* on the otherhand has ascribed the construction of the fort as to attract those Kashmiris back to their country, who had fled in the times of the Chaks.[52] It is interesting to note that the extant inscription on the main gate (*Kathi Darwaza*)[53] of the wall explicitly says that no unpaid labour was used and one crore and ten lakhs were given for the construction from the imperial treasury. The inscription reveals it as:[54]

Karore-o-dah lakh az makhzan firistad
Du sad Ustadi Hindi Jumla chak
Na kardeh hech kas beggar anja
Tamame yaftand az makhzanash zar

Translation:

> He (Emperor Akbar) sent one crore and ten lakhs from the central exchequer and two hundred master builder and the master servants. No one, it proclaims proudly, was seized on begar (forced labour); all workers received their dues from the Imperial treasury.

The above inscription reveals that there was no forced labour (*begar*) engaged in the work. However, did it mean that it was the end of the institution of Begar in Kashmir?

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was made responsible for providing relief work and about seventy thousand people fed daily. Mutimad khan, *Iqbal Nama*, Vol., II, p. 454.

51 It was constructed under the supervision of Khwaja Hasan Kabuli. Hasan Kohami, *op.cit*, p. 527. Suka view about the construction of the fort is interesting. According to him there were regular clashes between the civilians and Mughal troops; to keep them apart it was built. Eng., trans, Kings of Kashmira p. 426.

52 Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 194. This view has also been supported by the author of *Tarikh-i-Hasan*. He further says high wages were given; married women received six annas a day and a single women four annas a day.

53 About the name of Kathi Darwaza, it is said that the condemned people were hanged there-the word in Kashmir for a scaffold being Kathi. Suresh K. Sharma & S. R. Bakshi, ed., *Ancient and Medieval Kashmir*, Anmol Publications, Delhi, 1996, p. 347.

54 R. C. Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 89; R. K Parmu, op.cit, p.301.

The fact does not substantiate the contention. The inscription also did not assert the amount of the remuneration given and whether such remuneration was in tune of the quantum of toil put in by the workers. Professor Ishaq Khan's statement that the labourers got fair returns for their work during Akbar's reign, does not hold sound as it is nowhere borne out by the inscription.[55] It is interesting to note that the practice of forced labour continued in Kashmir during the reign of Akbar's successors. Itqad Khan, the Governor of Kashmir who retained this post from 1622 to 1632, continued this notorious practise with full enthusiasm. [56] Even when Shahjahan (1627-1657) ascended the throne, forced labour (*begar*) was still in vogue. After having come to know about the forced labour, he issued a Farman that prohibits the burdensome taxes and customs, and the practice of *begar* was made inadmissible by a Farman.[57] Emperor Aurangzeb, remarks Francois Bernier, prohibited carrying of royal luggage without remuneration and in fact fixed their pay at ten crowns for every lbs of weight.[58] It is important to mention here that particularly in the wake of royal visits to Kashmir, the people of the land enjoyed various moments of ecstasy and consolation, but their departure often set new schemes of coercion and extortion into motion.

Emperor Jahangir (A.D 1605-1627) was simply infatuated by the scenic beauty of Kashmir; his sheer love for the land and its people made Kashmir "the place of his favourite abode and he often declared, he would rather be deprived of every other

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55 Ishaq Khan, *Some aspects of Covree in Kashmir*, p. 59.

56 Begar can be defined as "employing any one without remuneration; to force one to work without pay". From the ancient times up to present this practice prevailed in Kashmir. During the sultanate period begar was resorted to with unsparing severity and it was during the reign of Shahab-ud-din (1356-1374), forced labour was even demanded from boatmen. The Mughal historian remarks that during the time of Sultans saffron was collected by compulsory labour. The practice of collecting saffron by the cultivators without any wages continued for long during Akbar's time. During Itqad Khan's governorship remarks Mutmaid Khan, "people were continuously pressed to take raw flowers to their homes, so that they pick up pure saffron as per the wages traditionally fixed. For wages they were given little salt. For details see Mushtaq Ahmad Kaw, *Some Aspects of Begar in Kashmir in the sixteenth to eighteenth century*, IESHR, 27, 4 (1990), pp. 465-474.

57 An Imperial edict of Shahjahan on the main gate of Jamia Masjid Srinagar. See Appendix

58 F. Bernier, *op.cit*, p. 390

province of his mighty Empire than to lose Kashmir".[59] Emperor Jahangir's preference of Kashmir, comments Pelsaert was "…when the heat in India increases, his body burns like a furnace owing to his consumption of strong drink and opium. He usually leaves Lahore in March or April and reaches Kashmir in May". [60] The pro-Kashmir attitude of the Emperor appears in all clarity from his memoir where he writes that he wanted to die in Kashmir. Tughara Mashhadi (d. 1667), a poet in the reign of Emperor Shahjahan, recalls his passion in the following couplet as:[61]

Az Shah-i-Jahangir dameh nazah chu justand
Ba khawahish-i-dil guft ki Kashmir digar hech

English Translation:

When Jahangir was asked on his deathbed what his last wish was?
With the desire of heart he replied: Kashmir and nothing else.

Jahangir's emotional attachment with Kashmir was bound to furnish something developmental which could ensure progress to its inhabitants; he put an end to all innovations, severe and unjust restrictions imposed upon the agriculturist class by governor Itiqad khan by issuing a special imperial Farman.[62] During his reign, Kashmir also witnessed the expression of Mughal aesthetics and a number of scenic architectural marvels such as Mughal gardens and Pari Mahal were constructed.[63] However, importantly, the carrying out of pleasure gardens were the works which they had done elsewhere also to fulfil their sense of aesthetics and to entertain themselves in particular and the common men in general.

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[59] F. Bernier, *op.cit*, p. 401

[60] Francisco Palsaert, *Remonstrantie*, (C.1626), Eng., Trans., Moreland Geyl, "*Jahangir's India"*, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 33-34; See also Showkat Ahmad Dar, *Kashmir and An Appraisal of Mughal Rule*, Punjab History Conference, Patiala, 44th Session, 2012, pp. 140-146.

[61] Cf. Gwasha Lal Koul, *Kashmir then and Now* (5000 B.C to 1972), Chronicle Publishing House, Srinagar, Eighth Edition, 1967, p. 47; See also R. K. Parmu, *op.cit*, p. 302; M. J. Akbar, *op.cit*, p. 46; P. N. K Bamzai, *op.cit*, Vol., II, p. 407.

[62] Malik Haider, *op.cit*, pp. 96-97.

[63] Francis Younghusband, *Kashmir*, p. 157; See the Chapter No.

His successor, Shah Jahan (A.D 1627-1658), added immensely to his father's grandeur; visited Kashmir several times.[64] He was not among those who would tolerate disorder, tyranny and incompetency in administration; the tyrannical governor, Itiqad khan, was removed from power and was replaced by a benevolent, Zaffar Khan/ Ahsan Ullah (1630-40).[65] Robes of honour, *madad-i-maash* and the land grants were given for better management.[66]

The last Mughal Emperor to visit Kashmir only once was Aurangzeb (in A.D1658). He visited to recoup himself after serious illness.[67] The Emperor was attended, writes Bernier, by a force of 35,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, heavy artillery and several thousand porters as well as a procession of women on elephants. 'So large a retinue has given rise to a suspicion that instead of visiting Kashmir, we are destined to lay siege to the important city of Khandhar.'[68] During his three months trip, Emperor Aurangzeb observed many un-Islamic practices being followed by the Kashmiris. For instances, women's moving without drawers, people cultivating the opium crop; and theatrical performances by the indigenous actors popularly known as *bhands*. So he issued three *Farmans* to stop all these practices.[69] These Farmans were hardly heeded by the Kashmiris. Emperor Aurangzeb was also accompanied by French physician Francois Bernier who wrote about Kashmir in a series of nine letters to one Monsieur de Merveilles. The letters were quite unique in the sense that they contained a detailed

64 Mughal Emperor paid visits after brief intervals to Kashmir; Akbar came thrice, Jahangir visited seven times, Shahjahan thrice and Aurangzeb twice. Francisco Palsaert, *Remonstrantie,* (C.1626), Eng., Trans., Moreland Geyl, "*Jahangir's India",* Cambridge, 1925, pp. 33-34; Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasir-al Umara*, Vol., I, Eng., trans., H. Beveridge New Delhi, 1979, p. 312, 355; *Waqat-i- Kashmir,* op.cit, p. 105; *Letters from Kashmir,* op.cit, p. 115-117.

65 Lahori, *Badshahnama,* Vol., II, p. 420; For details see *Maasir-ul-Umara,* Vol., II, pp. 756-62; Azam Khan and Shiasta khan were removed from the governorship of Gujrat for their incompetency.

66 Author of Badshahnama remarks that Hafiz's and Ulemas were given robes of honour and according to author of *Badshahnama*, a Maadad-i-mash of 12000 was also given to Kashmiri Ulema. Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol., I, p. 198.

67 Nicolo Munucci, *Storia de Magor*, Eng., trans., William Irwin, Vol., II, p. 58.

68 Young Husband, *Kashmir*, p. 139.

69 Cf. R. K. Parmu, *op.cit*, p. 321; see also M. J. Akbar, *Kashmir behind the Vale*, p. 46.

description of land and people of Kashmir; though they are typically Eurocentric and had racial overtone.[70] During his reign (1658-1707), Kashmir was administered by fourteen governors sent from Mughal Darbar at Delhi; of whom Saif Khan held the appointment (1665-68, 1669-72) twice and Ibrahim Khan thrice (1662-64, 1678-85, 1701-06), while as others for one year only. Most of these 'rulers on spot' were open-minded and efficient; they also tried to improve the general condition of the masses and it seems from the accounts of Bernier that the people in general were happy and the *karkhanas*, import and export trade was in flourishing state.[71]

However, it is important to mention that as per Prof. Ishaq khan, "the vilification of the Kashmiri's first started from the time of the establishment of the Mughal rule in Kashmir". In addition to this, he says, "the Mughal rulers did not recruit the Kashmiris in the army and even Emperor Aurangzeb had to admit in a letter to Prince Muazzam that to be a Kashmiri was one of the disqualifications."[72] So far as, the decrease in the recruitment of Kashmiris in the Mughal army is concerned, it seems, remarks M.Y. Saraf, "was because of the unprecedented prosperity in Kashmir during the Mughal period". It can further be judged from the fact that total revenue of Kashmir as per Abul Fazl was 30, 11,618 *kharwars*, eight *traks*, equivalent to 62, 11,304 ½ *dams* or 15, 52,826 rupees or simply 75, 29,047 *maunds* of paddy when considered with present deficit production of the state. The statistics of recruitments in the army anywhere in the world would show the corresponding relationship between the economic prosperity and the recruitment in the army; when there is economic prosperity, there will be decrease in the number of those who offer themselves for military service.[73] The criticism of not being among the martial races and lacking military mindedness levelled against the Kashmiris are far-off

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70 Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire*, A. D. 1656-1668, second revised edition by Vincent A. Smith, (reprint), Delhi, 1997, pp. 393-429.

71 *Ibid*, pp. 400-406; For details also see chapter on trade and commerce.

72 Ishaq Khan, *Perspective on Kashmir*, p. 47.

73 M.Y. Saraf, *Kashmiri's Fight For Freedom*, Vol., I, p. 49 Furthermore, the loss of the interest in the army by the Kashmiri's could also been gauge from the fact that Kashmir was not densely populated area, as per Baron Hugel before the earthquake and famine of 1832 the total population of the Kashmiri valley was Six lakhs.

for being factual. History is a witness to the fact that Lalitaditya and Sultan Shahib-ud-din, the Kings of Kashmiri origin had conquered almost whole of the Punjab, Multan, Peshawar, parts of Afghanistan, Ladakh and even the parts of core regions of Central Asia.[74] It is, therefore, not without the historical fact that Allama Iqbal, the renowned Muslim poet scholar of the twentieth century, spoke with pride:

Dar zamane saf shikan hum booda ast
Cheera wa janbaz wa pur dam booda ast

English translation:

Once fearless, heroic and courageous
They penetrated through the hordes of their rivals.

Unmindful of the remarks of Francois Bernier that "…the Kashmiris are celebrated for wit and are considered much more intelligent and ingenious than the Indians. In poetry and science, they are not inferior to the Persians. They are very active and industrious".[75] Why then Mughals ignore them in their administration? One of the stalwart of Indian history J. N. Sarkar, without knowing the worth of the Kashmiris as administrators, intellectuals, poets, writers, musicians and singers; wrongly attributed the reason that Kashmiris being "most uncivilised and unfit to be employed in the imperial services"; he further says, that "if they were villagers they were despised as ignorant savages and if town-men as lying flatters and cowardly cheats so that in Mughal India, a Kashmiri came to be a by-word for a smooth spoken rogue".[76]

During the period of later Mughals, Kashmir became a playground for governors, the common people suffered heavily as the managers of power utilised their time in squeezing the last penny out of the poor cultivators. For instance, Jafar Khan (1707-1709), the first governor of Kashmir sent by Emperor Bahadur Shah (1707-12) addicted himself to drinking and issued reckless orders which caused distress to people; Governor Aghar Khan (1727-29) is said to have imposed tax on elephants which were nonexistent in Kashmir. The same is witnessed in folk saying of Kashmir as "*Agar Khanun Hos*".[77] It

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[74] M.Y. Saraf, *Kashmiri's Fight For Freedom*, p. 48-49. For details see *Rajatarangini*, op.cit, p. 65; see also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p.180.

[75] *Ibid*, pp. 402-404.

[76] J. N. Sarkar, *A Short History of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1954, pp. 410-412

[77] G. N. Nazir, *Kashir Talmeeh*, Cultural Academy, Srinagar, p.57.

is therefore, not beyond belief that when a relatively austere, tolerant, and just governor Abdul Samad Khan (1721-23) was deputed to redress the grievances and sufferings of the people, the Kashmiri bard sang with delight in the praise of Samad Khan:[78]

> *"Haka! av Samad phutrun zin*
> *Na rud Kuni Sharaf na rud Kuni din*

English translation:

> When the Samad came swiftly on his horse, there neither remained the leader nor his bigoted faith.

But certainly during the forty-six years from the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707 to the annexation of Kashmir by the ruthless Afghans in 1753, there were very few sober governors like Samad Khan. One can skip these years simply by saying chaos, confusion and disintegration of the Mughal rule. The tyranny of administrators was exacerbated by natural calamities. The worst of which the Kashmiris witnessed was the famine of A.D 1733, about which a contemporary yelled as:

زبس در اضطراراند اهل کشمیر . غم خود هم نخورده هیچکس سیر
چو چشم مردمان از قحط برگشته . گرفته انقلابی از شهر تا دشت
نشان غله پیدا نیست یکسر . بجز از حسن گندم گون دلبر
تنور آسا شکمها گشته بریان . بسوز آرزوی یک لب نان
هزاران شعر شاعر گر سراید . ز بیت المال یک پشمش نیاید

عظمی، واقعات کشمیر ۲۳۸

English Translation:

> So great is the distress of the people of Kashmir,
> That it escapes even their own comprehension.
> When the people were weakened by famine,
> Revolution sprang up from town to desert.
> No wheat or cereal can be found anywhere,
> Except in the wheaty-complexioned beauty of the beloved.
> Bellies like ovens are heated to the grilling point,
> Yearning for a piece of bread (lab-i-nan).
> The poet recites a thousand verses,
> Without even getting a fleece from the treasury.

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78 Gwasha Lal Koul, *Kashmir then and Now* (5000 B.C to 1972), Chronicle Publishing House, Srinagar, Eighth Edition, 1967, p.51; P. N. K Bamazi, *op.cit*, p. 421.

The presence of Nadir Shah in the Afghanistan and his subsequent invasion of Hindustan finally dealt a deadly blow to the Mughal Empire; it also had exerted an adverse influence on the provinces like Bihar, Bengal, Orissa Gujrat and Oudh which declared their independence from the Mughal rule. The influence was also prominent in Kashmir which was not far away from Afghanistan. After his assassination on 2 June 1747, a potent Ahmad Khan of the Sadozia family of Abdali clan better known as Ahmad Shah Abdali established himself firmly as the ruler of Afghanistan. He also followed the tradition of his master by invading India several times (1747-67), finally succeeded in wrestling Punjab and Multan from Mughal Emperor Ahmad Shah after looting and plundering Delhi.[79]

Meanwhile, in Kashmir, the people experienced worst type of political vulgarity, chaos and confusion and official vandalism; like their forefathers some of the influential nobles Mir Muqim Kanth and Khwaja Zahir-ud-din Diddamari wrote to Ahmad Shah Abdali, inviting him to invade Kashmir and annex it to his kingdom of Kabul. The people of Kashmir had pinned high hopes on the Kabul Durbar, on whom they expected would provide them a sigh of relief. Abdali was quick to accept the invitation despatched a large force under Abdulla khan Eshak Aqsi to conquer Kashmir.[80] The Afghan contingent after facing stiff resistance entered the capital city of Srinagar in triumph, and planted the Afghan flag on the soil of Kashmir which remained intact upto 1819. The expectations and the cherished desires of the Kashmiris were belied when they witnessed the harassment and the acts of barbarity of their new masters who according to George Forester "rarely issued an order without a blow of the side of their hatchets."[81] A sorrowful state of affairs under the Kabul government has been put by the poet in the following lines:[82]

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79 William Irvine, *Later Mughals*, Vol. II, pp. 374-378; G. M. D Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, Light and Life Publications, New Delhi, 2000, p. 130.

80 G. M. D Sufi, *op.cit*, p. 130; P. N. K. Bamazi, *The Cultural and Political History of India,* 2 vols., Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003, p. 432.

81 Forster, George, *A Journey from Bengal to England through Northern Parts of India, Kashmir, Afghanistan and Persia into Russia*, Vol., II, p. 22.

82 Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, *Wajiz-ut Tawarikh*, Per. Ms., R & P Dept., Srinagar, p.199; See also P. N. K. Bamazi, *op.cit*, p. 435; M. J. Akbar, *op.cit*, p. 48; Abdul Ahad, *op.cit*, p. 189;

Pursidan az Kharabiye Gulshan zi Baghban
Afghan Kashid guft ki Afghan Kharab Kard.

English translation:

I inquired of the gardener the cause of the destruction of garden,
Drawing a deep sigh! He replied, it is the Afghan who did it

CHAPTER-4

SOCIETAL MAKEOVER: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Mulk-i-Kashmir was honoured by Akbar Shah's rule
As he entered from Hirapur, all conflicts and dissension left Kashmir
The land blossomed with the air of spring
Even the hay and thorns burst into flowers

Saadullah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*

I. THE HINDU SOCIETY

At the very outset, it may be frankly recognized that the students of social history of Kashmir during the period under study are confronted with two major social entities: the Hindus and the Muslims. The former in the pre-thirteenth century Kashmir formed the main reference-group with "not a space as large as a grain of sesame without a tirtha".[1] However, at the turn of fifteenth century, Hinduism was replaced by Islam as the mass religion of Kashmir. This social revolution altogether changed the religious demography of the region. As per the Census Report of 1911, the Valley of Kashmir was once abode of Hinduism and Buddhism, but now is one of the most prominent Muslim Majority areas with ninety-four percent Muslim population.[2] Though, the adoption of Islam by the greater mass of population did not affect the existing socio-religo-cultural fabric, as the Kashmiri Muslims had never really given up the old Hindu religion of the country. Astonished by the indelible marks of Hinduism upon the Kashmiri Muslims, a keen observer of the Kashmiri society, Walter Lawrence writes: [3]

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[1] Kalhana *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., M. A. Stein, part I, 38.

[2] Census of India, 1911, pp. 87-88. How it happened, who were its facilitators, and did an element of syncretism characterise the movement are interesting phenomena among many, have been addressed and investigated by Prof Muhammad Ashraf Wani in a book *Islam in Kashmir, Oriental Publishing House, Srinagar, 2005*. See also Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, Manohar, 2002; Rattan Lal Hangloo, *Mass Conversion in Medieval Kashmir: academic Perceptions and People's Practice*, ed., Arpana Rao, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Manohar, 2008, p. 29; Altaf Hussain Yatoo, *The Islamization of Kashmir: A study of Muslim Missionaries*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2012.

[3] Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Katib Ghar, Srinagar, 1967, p. 293.

> In their heart they are Hindus, and the religion of Islam is too abstract to satisfy their superstitious cravings, and they turn from the mean priest and the mean to the pretty shrines of carved wood and roof brought up with the iris flowers where the saints of past lie buried. They like to gaze on the saint's old clothes and turban, and to examine the cave in which he spent his ascetic life…the Kashmiris are called by foreigners *Pir Parast*, that is saint worshippers, and the epithet is well deserved.

As in other parts of Indian subcontinent, the social organization of the Hindus of Kashmir was determined by the age old institutions of Varnashrams, with Brahmanas occupying the highest position and the Nishadas, the Chandalas, Kirtas, Kaivartas and the Dombas were at the lowest rung of social hierarchy.[4] It should be pointed out that, as per the views of S.C. Ray, "the conception of the population as consisting of four traditional castes was not altogether unknown", and he further writes "there was no such caste as Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra in early Kashmir".[5] Ray's view of the total absence of the intermediary castes appears to be only partly true as one of the oldest source Nilmat Purana makes special reference to the other categories like the Kshatriyas, the Vaishyas and the chiefs of Shudras[6]. Similarly Kalhana also mentions the emergence of the rich and prosperous merchant class. It is said by Kalhana that the overland trade received unprecedented encouragement during the period of Karkotas and the merchants were living in palatial buildings excelling the king's palace.[7] Damodargupta's reference to the Shreshthin and Vinikas also indicate the existence of the rich and prosperous trading community, belonging probably to the Vaishya caste.[8]

Pandit Kalhan's reference to them clearly establishes the fact that there was definite recognition of the four fold order in Kashmir, together with classes below the

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[4] Nishadas, Kirtas, Kaivartas and the Dombas were lower castes. Nishadas generally applied to persons who earn their livelihood by hunting and fishing. Kirtas live in forests and they earn their livelihood like that of the Nishadas, Dombas have been mentioned as menials. S.C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, Munshiram Manoharlal, Delhi, 1969, pp. 15-118; on the other hand dombas were menials, Alberuni speaks of Dombas as flute players and singers. Alberuni, *India*, Trans., E. Sachu, I, p. 102.

[5] S.C. Ray, *Early History and Cultural of Kashmir*, Munshiram Monohar Lal, New Delhi, 2nd, edition, 1970, p. 116

[6] Ved Kumari, *The Nilamata Purana*, Vol. II, J&K Academy of Arts, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, 1973, p. 217.

[7] Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, IV, p. 640.

[8] Kuttanimata Kauya, VV, 68, 757.

Sudras such as Chandalas and Dombas. In addition, the author of Rajatarangini also makes a reference to sixty-four intermediary castes.[9] The established fact remained that the Brahmanas held the great esteem in society and were treated as "*bhudeva*"- gods on earth by the other *varnas* and the other working classes like Chandalas, Dombas and Svapakas (lit. 'dog-cookers') were treated as the worst creatures on earth and were referred to as 'impure and untouchables'.[10] Tyndale Biscoe, a Christian missionary writing in the late nineteenth century was surprised to observe the caste inhibition of the Kashmiri Brahamans with regard to dining in the company of non-Brahmanas; he writes "they could not eat with any person who was not twice-born; they could not dine with their Maharaja…for he was of a lower caste, being the *Kshatri* caste. They only eat food cooked by a Brahman". [11]

There is sufficient evidence that the fourfold divisions of society were maintained, but it was not as rigid as in India.[12] The social status was sometimes changeable as it was not uncommon for the rulers to take the girls from lower castes or the prostitutes as their wives and make them their chief queens. For Example, King Cakravarman (936-37) received the domba singer Ranga with his daughter Hamsi and Nagalata and later took these two in his seraglio; even the former was raised to the status of queen.[13] Furthermore, the rising of a lowborn to the high position in a state was not inconceivable but it was regarded as the clear indication of the Kaliyug.[14] However, these were the exceptional occurrences; as per Pandit Kalhana, the Brahmans strongly resented a relaxation in the caste system and very often used to persuade the government in their

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9 For details see Krishna Mohan, *Early Medieval History of Kashmir*, Meharchand Publication, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 211-12; Abul Fazl and Haider Daughlat also make a mention of Shamshi's as a class of Hindu community without any political influence in the times of Chaks. Abul Fazl, op.cit., III, 762; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, op.cit., p. 436.

10 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, viii, 2238, see also S.C. Ray, *op.cit*, p. 116.

11 Tyndale Biscoe, *op.cit*., p. 265.

12 Krishna Mohan, *Early Medieval History of Kashmir*, Meharchand Lachhmandar Publications, New Delhi, 1981, p. 211

13 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, V., p. 385; Domba's were lowest in the social order and as Kshemendra refers to Dombas as menial caste.

14 Like Pandit Kalhana, his successor Jonaraja vehemently criticised the privileged position attained by the lower classes. Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, p. 11.

favour and sometimes fasted until their desired demands were accepted.[15] From Kalhana's Rajatarangini, one could also see his Brahmanic feelings about the inter-caste marriages, as he used vile and obscene language, and his belief was so strong on the impurity of dombas that he remarks "from the intercourse with those who had taken dombas, food remnants, impurity fell upon Yasakara, just as the evil of leprosy spread through the touch of a leper" [16] and when there was a fire during the reign of Abhimanyu (958-971), one of the successor of Cakravarman, kalhana was so happy that he says "it purified the lands by burning the great buildings which had been defiled by the contacts of the kings, who had been touched by the dombas and chandalas."[17]

I

In the hierarchical scale of the Hindu social order, the Brahmans occupied the status of religious elite. They adopted varied occupations and were divided into different classes like the Counsellors, Purohitas, Kayasthas, and the common Brahman who earned their livelihood by performing religious rites and by teaching the sacred texts.[18] The counsellors bore deep resentment against the Purohits for their political role and power; Purohita Brahmans who enjoyed *agraharas* (land grants) were the most powerful and were not subjected to pay any tax, the *Kayasthas* (the officials) were jealous of the power and made persistent efforts to provoke the rulers to confiscate the *agraharas* or to impose taxes on their owners. The common Brahmans suffered the powerful ones and their collaboration with the rulers in exploiting and fleecing the common people.[19] Although, Brahmans as community or as a 'shared group' were offered complete immunity from taxation, forced labour and capital punishments, but they enjoyed the state privilege of non-escheatment of their property either after dying heirless the privilege which was

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[15] Kalhana *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., M. A. Stein, part I, pp. 227-29.

[16] Kalhana *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., VI, 84.

[17] *Ibid*, VI, 192.

[18] Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Book V, p. 424, 465, IV, 415, 673; For details on Brahamans see S.C. Ray, *op.cit*, pp. 116-17.

[19] K.L. Kalla, *Kashmir Heritage Folk Songs and Sharda Lippi*, 2nd ed. Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2011, p. 40 For details see Muhammad Ashraf Wani, *Islam in Kashmir*, pp. 177-179.

denied to the lower sections.[20] Besides the other landed ruling class, although, a heterogeneous section was divided racially into Damaras, Ekanages, Tantrins and Lavanayas were also the major beneficiaries struggled for power and chose religion as ideological base. It ultimately resulted in the civil wars and the callous squandering and dissipation of the resources.[21] Even the big landholding class 'the Damaras' at the end of the second Lohara dynasty had almost destabilised the country. The King had been at their mercy. Agrahara managers and Purohit corporations had threatened the very semblance of weak kings with their solemn fasts. Foot soldiers of Damaras and Tantrins had waged wars against the kings and they were mortally afraid of them. Constant turmoil and strife had exhausted the peasants and artisans, who formed the major chunk of the then population.[22]

It is, however, worth noting that the addiction to power and lust to appropriate more and more *agraharas* corrupted the Brahmanical religion under their priesthood and it became full of evil practices and ritualistic dogmas. Their presence was necessary in religious and social ceremonies. The works like *Kuttanimata* of Damodaragupta and Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* gives an impression that the Brahmans were fast losing their reverence and sacredness in the society.[23] Even some of them frequently used to visit brothels while those managing the temples are stated to have had no scruples to sell the offerings made to gods in the temples.[24] It is, therefore, no wonder that Saiva Yogini Lalla, an exponent of reformulated Saivism revolted against all the oppressive structures that stifle and kill the human spirit and critically interrogate the practices of inequality and injustice that were current during the time. She even rejected the ritualistic aspects of Saivistic discipline in her revolutionary poetry.[25] From her *Vaakhs*, one can deduce her acknowledgement and innovation in religion rather than to stick tradition bound and deep seated abuses in religion. In the light of her own intense spiritual experiences, she in her

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[20] Krishna Mohan, *Early Medieval History of Kashmir*, Delhi, 1981, pp. 211-221.

[21] K.L. Kalla, *Kashmir Heritage Folk Songs and Sharda Lippi*, 2nd ed. Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2011, p. 40.

[22] D. N. Dhar, *Dynamics of Political Change in Kashmir*, Kanishka Publishers, Delhi, 2001, pp. 10-11.

[23] Kalhana, op.cit, vol., I, book III, p. 92; Kuttanimata Kauya, VV, 68, 757.

[24] *Ibid*, pp. 92-96.

[25] For details see Jayalal Kaul: *Lal Ded* Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 97-100.

*Vaakhs s*hows her readiness to break from tradition; even revolted against the powerful clergy, castigating Brahman's idol worship, and animal sacrifice, fasting, visiting sacred places and reading sacred books. She says:[26]

> Oh! Fool right action does not lie in fasting and other ceremonial rites
> Oh! Fool right action does not lie in providing for bodily comfort and ease
> In contemplation of the self alone is right action and right council for you
> The Temple is but stone, from top to bottom, all is but stone
>
> Whom will you worship, O stubborn Pandit?
> It covers your shame, Saves you from cold,
> Its food and drink, mere water and grass
> Who counselled you, O Brahmin?
> To slaughter a living sheep as a sacrifice
> Unto a lifeless stone
>
> The pilgrim, *sanyasin*, goes from shrine to shrine, seeking to meet Him
> Who abides within herself?
> Knowing the truth, O soul, be not misled;
> It is distance that makes the turf look green
>
> Some leave their home, some the hermitage
> But the restless mind knows no rest
> Then watch your breath day and night,
> And stay where you are
>
> I have worn out my plate and tongue reading the holy books,
> But I have not learnt the practices that would please my lord.
> I have worn thin fingers and thumb telling my rosary beads,
> But I have not been able to dispel duality from my mind.
>
> The thoughtless read the holy books
> As parrots in their cages recite "Ram, Ram"
> Their reading is like churning water,
> Fruitless effort, ridiculous conceit

Criticising ritualistic practices of the Brahmans, she remarked:

> He does not need the *kusa* grass, nor sesame seed,
> Flowers and water he does not need,
> He who, in honest faith, accepts his guru's word,
> On Siva meditates constantly,
> He full of joy, from action freed, will not be born again.

[26] Jayalal Kaul: *Lal Ded* Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 103-110.

Also, highlighting the injustice that followed from the contemporary institutions and longing for its freedom have also been described by her-

> I have seen a hungry wise man fall
> Like a serf leaf in a gentle wind,
> Winter's hunger claiming him, for all
>
> Benefit for him could wisdom find,
> I have seen a rich and graceless fool
> Beating his cook for a meal's delay,
> I am waiting for the love and rule
> Binding me here to be cut away. [27]

With the spread of Islam in Kashmir, all castes and the out castes, except small group of Brahmin families, came into the fold of Islam and the Hindu society was left to be represented by a solitary caste-Brahmanas usually called Pandits or *bhattas*. [28] However, it is important to point out here that because of the charismatic personality and the persuasive teaching of the founder of Rishi Order, Shaikh Nur-ud-din (1379-1442), many prominent brahamana ascetics like Bhum Sadh, Zia Singh, and Ladi Raina accepted the creed of Islam and were named as Baba Bam-al-din, Baba Zain-al-din and Baba Latif-al-din respectively.[29] The Brahman of Kali Mandir who accepted Islam at the hands of Sayyid Ali Hamadani adopted the name of Shah Muhammad Shah.[30] Furthermore, there were many other Brahmans "who forsook their caste because they were ambitious to obtain the favour of the king."[31]

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27 Sir Richard Carnac Temple, *The Word of Lalla*, Gulshan Books Srinagar, 2005, p. 214; B.NParimoo, *The Ascent of the Self*, Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi, 1978, p. 8-9; Sheikh Nurudin the other contemporary mystic saint laments of a degraded society as-

> Alas! In a degraded society of polluted sea I on a sail unsafe did board,
>
> Would drown deep in its stiff storm or safely come ashore!
>
> Would its saline content, on my dissolution- A Crystal sugar,
>
> Sweeten or embitter in voyaging-the sea way round.

28 W. Haig in '*Chronology and Genealogy of the Muhammadan Kings of Kashmir* perpetuated the legend of the survival of the eleven families. J.R. A. S, 1918, No., XV. According to tradition only eleven families of Hindus remained in the Valley of Kashmir. See *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 302 .

29 For details see M. Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, pp.177-192

30 Sayid Ali, *op.cit.*, f. 5a

31 Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, p. 65.

It is also equally important that majority of the converts from the different strata of the Hindu religion to Islam did not give up their surnames (Krams), for instance Bhat, Dars, Magrays, Lone, Tantray, Raina, Naiks, Aitu, Rishi, Mantu, Rather, Parray, Pandit, Wani, Tak, Chaks and Thakurs etc retained their caste names. Krams like Bhat, Raina and Dars although small in number, continued to remain within the Hindu fold; on the other land, owning tribes viz. Magrays, Tantary, Lone, Naik, Thakur, Rather, Parrey, Itoo, Wani and Chak embraced Islam *en masse*.[32] Krams like Beig, Mirza, Koka, Mughal and Khans were settled during Mughal times; they enjoyed prominent position in the Mughal administration.[33] The caste of Rainas which was known by the name of Chandra during the Hindu rule shot into prominence under Emperor Jahangir; example can be given of the Haider Malik, who not only enjoyed the Zamindari of his native village but also was given the charge of imperial buildings.[34] Many who had given up their old caste names began to be called by their adopted professions.[35]

The Brahmans, who did not accept Islam, were divided in due course of time according to their functions in the sacred, scholarly and secular realms. Those who studied Persian for sake of jobs in state-service were called the Karkuns and those who continued to stuck to the study of Sanskrit and engaged in ritual practices were labelled as *Bhasa-bhatta* or simply '*gor*' or *gurus*.[36] The functional differentiation within Brahmans or Pandits of Kashmir, which for Georg Buhler, the first indologist to visit Kashmir, were the 'one unified community' have been posed by the foundation of the Sultanate. This division created such a wide gulf within the Brahman community, that they did not intermarry and formed endogamous sections *vis-à-vis* caste.[37] The author of the celebrated work *Valley of Kashmir* believed that the reason of intermarriage died

[32] Krams like Bhat, Dhar, Magrays, Rathers Loans were reffered by the generic term Damaras by Kalhana Cf. Muhammad Ashraf Wani, *Islam in Kashmir*, pp. 35-36.

[33] Bandipora village was given to the chief members of Bandey castes as Jagir. Hasan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, per., Vol., I, p. 414; Lawrence in the Valley of Kashmir (p. 308) states that the kram Mir is a corruption of Mirza, Bandey, Bachh and Ashie.

[34] Haider Malik Chadoora, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol., I, p. 212; *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 304; *Amal-i- Saleh*, Vol., II, p. 44;

[35] Mohibbul Hassan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 219; *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 306

[36] Georg Buhler, *Report on a tour in search of Sanskrit Manuscripts,* JBBRAS, extra number 1877, p.19; Mohibbul Hassan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 219; 136.

[37] *Ibid*, p. 17

away between the two sub-divisions i.e. *Karkun's* and *Bhasa-bhatta's* because the latter were partly regarded as divine and partly because of the laity abhor their practice of accepting the apparel of deceased Hindus.[38] As recorded in the Census of 1891, the *Bhasa-bhattas* were economically backward people and accepted all types of charities whereas the *Karkuns* refrained from this practice and considered it below their dignity.[39] Although, theoretically these two subdivisions were equal in status; in practice, the *Karkuns* were considered superior and it was actually based on their superior socio-economic position. A third but much smaller category of the Kashmiri Pandits, present in towns, was called the *Buher*. They formed an endogamous set of their own, were mostly grocers and confectioners, though were hated by the Karkuns.[40]

From the establishment of Sultanate upto the beginning of sixteenth century, the Hindus still formed what is known as the 'reference group'[41] and as per the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* in the beginning of sixteenth century more than eighty thousand Brahman families lived in Kashmir.[42] However, the reign of Sultan Sikander (1389-1413) which occupied a crucial place in the history of Kashmir, the Hindus were seething with discontent; Jonaraja maintained that it was because of the Suhabhatta, a prime minister and convert, Sultan Sikander surpassed the limits in his treatment of the Kashmir Hindus; a multitude of Brahmans who took pride in themselves on their caste fled from the country.[43] He further maintained that, the borders were sealed so that the Brahmans were prevented from escaping.[44] Furthermore, the author of *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* states that 'the Sultan Sikander issued an order that no women would be allowed to wear the mark on their forehead.'[45]

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38 Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir*, p. 302. Also see T.N. Madan, "Religious Ideology and Social Structure: The Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir", in Imtiyaz Ahmad, ed., *Ritual and Religion among Muslims in India*, New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 1981, pp. 22-29.

39 *Census of India*, 1891, p. 136.

40 *Ibid.* The Gors provided them priestly services while the latter sought upward social mobility by emulating Pandit lifestyles and religious practices.

41 I have barrowed the term from Mohammad Ashraf Wani, *Islam in Kashmir*, p. 5.

42 *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, op.cit, f. 53b

43 Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, p. 66.

44 *Ibid*, pp. 66-67.

45 Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Eng., trans., J. Briggs, p. 464.

However, little wonder with the accession of great Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1470) to the throne of Kashmir, benevolent rule percolated to the people of all classes, irrespective of their caste or social status. Jonaraja in his chronicle portrays the benevolent rule of his patron Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in these words, "the king looked with equal eyes upon his own, as upon others; as traders do not allow any inequality in their scales, so the king did not break inequality."[46] Moreover, he enthusiastically initiated a movement of religious toleration and invited all those who had fled from Kashmir during the heydays of intolerance;[47] and as per *Nizam-ud-din Ahmad*, all those who had forcibly been converted were allowed to reconvert.[48] Not only did he persuade the Brahmans, but also ensued complete religious liberty to all those who had undergone conversion by force, were allowed to revert to their own faith.[49] Jaziya was reduced from two *pals* to one *masha* of silver; almost a hundredth. [50] Despite given the freedom of reconversion by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, we do not come across any instance of reconversion, neither in the works of court historians nor in the Persian chronicles.[51] He also participated in their religious festivals like Chaitra, Nagayatra and Ganachakra with full enthusiasm and it was also during his reign that rent free land grants were given to Brahmans and court chroniclers.[52] 'All those temples which had been destroyed by his predecessors were repaired and rebuilt by this generous Sultan', remarks the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*.[53] Many Hindus were recruited in the state services at higher posts; notable among them was Shri Bhatta who filled the ministerial post and was the superintendent of court of Justice.[54] Madhav Kaul and Ganesh Kaul were put incharge of northern and southern

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[46] Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, pp. 77-78.

[47] *Ibid*, p. 77; Sayid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 37b; *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol., IV, p. 270.

[48] Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tarikh-i-Akbarat*, p. 657.

[49] Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J. C. Dutt, Kings of Kashmira, pp. 309.

[50] Loc.cit

[51] Cf. Mohammad Ashraf Wani, *Islam in Kashmir*, p. 126.

[52] Suka, *Rajatarangini*, trans., J.C. Dutt, '*Kings of Kashmira*', p. 123-24; For details of the measures taken by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, See N.K. Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin: An age of Enlightenment*, pp. 76-90 .

[53] Anonymous, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, p. 46.

[54] Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, p. 97.

provinces respectively. Soma Pandit was a high dignitary and was incharge of the translation department. Karpur Bhatta was the court physician and Jaya Bhatta maintained the king's private account. Besides, Sumantra Bhatta was an astrologer and Ruppya Bhatta an architect.[55]

The glorious Sultan, Zain-ul-Abidin was succeeded by weak and incompetent successors and the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* records that 'the amirs became so strong that the sultans ruled in name only'.[56] Malik Ahmad Yatu, a wazir of Hasan Shah (1472-84), endowed villages in favour of Brahmans.[57] It was also during his rule that Hindus and Buddhists constructed their Viharas and Mathas; for instance, Sayyabhandpati built a Buddhist Vihara at Vijayyesha and Lakhmamera, built a stone temple of Bhimaswami Ganesha.[58] However, when the Brahmans participated in one of the revolt against the Sultan, he was enraged. Srivara writing in sixteenth century says that he forced them 'to give up their caste and dress and exclaim 'I am not a Bhatta… I am not a Bhatta.'[59]

To sum up, the period from the death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin upto the ascendery of Chaks on the throne of Kashmir, a modern scholar, Wani makes us believe that the Brahmans of Kashmir were not treated well and they did not get any privileged status in the Muslim polity.[60] But, the detailed information about the successors of the Zain-ul-Abidin in the contemporary historical writings Suka's *Rajatarangini* and *Baharistan-i-Shahi,* make it clear that the policy of great Sultan was continued by his successors. According to the author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, it was during the *wizarat* of Kazi Chak, who assumed the post of chief minister several times in between 1517-1544, seven to eight hundred rich Hindu families held the key positions in the state.[61] Husain Shah (1563-70) participated in *Sripanchami*, a Hindu festival and distributed robes of honour

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55 Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini,* pp. 87-90.

56 Haider Mirza Daughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* p. 434.

57 *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J.C.Dutt, p. 207.

58 *Ibid*, p. 227.

59 Srivara, *Rajatarangini,* p. 195.

60 Cf. Nizam-ud-din Wani, *Muslim Rule in Kashmir,* p. 188.

61 Anonymous, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 43b.

and gifts among them; he even invited Brahmans to his court.[62] Daughlat Chak offered village Tulmula as a rent-free land grant to Hindu ascetics[63] and it was during the reign of romantic Yusuf Shah Chak (1579-86), 'a complete religious freedom was given to the Hindus and as a gesture of friendliness Jaziya was completely abolished'. However, 'Jaziya was reintroduced, their religious customs were banned and they were forced to embrace Islam or an exiled life' by Yaqub Shah Chak.[64]

Needless to say, throughout the Sultanate, the Chak and the Mughal periods, there was not a smooth sailing for the Hindus (*Bhattas*) of Kashmir. There were fanatic and hypocritical elements, yet there was no dearth of honest and benevolent rulers, who maintained the policy of justice without discrimination. I will not over-emphasise on the munificence and the generosity of great Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin or Emperor Akbar who are known to have been very kind, social and charitable to the Hindus (*Bhattas*) of Kashmir, but out of many noble souls, I may mention only one to prove my point. During the rule of Shahab-ud-din (1354-1373) when the imperial treasury became short of coins and to come out of financial crunch his Hindu minister *Udayastri* suggested a plan to melt the gigantic brass statue of Brihad Buddha. The king not only rejected the proposal as contemptuous but also sacked the minister for making it.[65] So as far as the wholesale destruction of the temples and the wiping out of Hinduism from the land of Kashmir are concerned, it is generally believed that Muslims destroyed Hindu temples and idols, but it may appear strange that Pandit Kalhana in the *Rajatarangini* elaborately explains the destruction of temples and plundering of silver idols, by Hindu raja Harsha (1069-1101). According to Kalhana, 'there was not one temple in a village, town or in the city which was not spoiled of its image by Turuska, king Harsha. He appointed Udayaraja, for seizing divine image. In order to defile the status of gods, he had excrement and urine poured over their faces by naked mendicants whose noses, feet and hands had rotten away. Divine images were dragged by ropes round their ankles on the streets; he also

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62 Suka, *Rajatarangini,* p. 393.

63 *Ibid,* p. 382.

64 Cf. Nizam-ud-din Wani, *Muslim Rule in Kashmir,* p. 188.

65 *Rajatarangini,* VII, pp. 364.

turned to the precaution of Brahmans, killing many and forcing others to flee or hide'.[66] Like his predecessor, Jonaraja wrote about the desecration of temples by Suhabhatta as 'there was no city, no town, no village, and no wood where, Suha, the Turushka left the gods unbroken.'[67] Similarly, the author of *Tuhfat al Ahbab* records that, 'Araki organised a brigade of *dervishes* and Sufis with the instructions to move about in towns, villages, habitats and localities. Wherever they found an idol house or an idol or a trace of idolatry, they swoop on it, pull down the temples and eradicate the customs and practices of idolatry.'[68] Believing these authorities on face value, it seems that not a single one should have remained standing. Strange enough then how Mughal authorities have given minute details about the Hindus and their temples in Kashmir. Abul Fazl regarded Kashmir as the land of Hindu gods and goddesses in which, "forty five shrines are dedicated to Mahadev, sixty-four to Vishnu, three to Brahma and twenty to Durga".[69] There are 'seven hundred places' where the graven images of snakes are worshiped by the Hindus of Kashmir.[70] Mirza Haider Daughlat (1540-1551), a cousin of Babur, who ruled Kashmir one hundred years after Sultan Sikander, records the existence of at least hundred and fifty prominent temples in Kashmir; he even gives a magnificent account of temples as:[71]

> First and the foremost among the wonders of Kashmir stand her idol temples. In and around Kashmir, there are more than one hundred and fifty temples which are built of blocks of hewn stone, fitted so accurately one upon the other, that there is absolutely no cement used. These stones have been so carefully placed in position, without plaster or mortar that a sheet of paper could not be passed between the joints. The blocks are from three to twenty *gaz* in length, one *gaz* in depth and one to five *gaz* in breadth. The marvel is how these stones were transported and erected. The temples are nearly all built on the same plan. There is a square enclosure which in some places reaches the highest of thirty *gaz*, while each side is about three hundred *gaz* long. Inside this enclosure there are square capitals; on the top of these again, are placed supports, and most of these separate parts are made out of one block of stone. On the pillars are fixed the supports of the arches, and each arch is three or four *gaz* in width. Under the arch are a hall

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66 *Rajatarangini*, VII, pp. 364-65.

67 Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J. C. Dutt, *Kings of Kashmira*, pp. 308-309.

68 *Tuhfat ul Ahbab*, Urdu trans., Reza Akhund Zadeh, Lahore, 1997, p. 513.

69 *Ibid*, Vol., II, p. 356.

70 *Ibid*, Vol., II, p. 256.

71 Mirza Haider Daughlat, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, Eng. Trans. from Persian, N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, 1986, p. 426.

> and doorway. On the outside and inside of the arch are pillars of forty or fifty *gaz* in height, having supports and capitals of one block of stone. On the top of this are placed four pillars of one or two pieces of stone…Some represent laughing and weeping figures, which astound the beholder. In the middle is a lofty throne of hewn stone, and over that, a dome made entirely of stone, which I cannot describe. In the rest of the world there is not to be seen, heard of, one building like this. How wonderful there should be a hundred and fifty of them.

The minute details given by Mirza Haider Daughlat are also substantiated by the other Mughal sources. The historical records of the Mughal period treat the religious places of the Hindus as one of the major cultural symbols of Kashmir. About the loftiness of temple, Abul Fazl states that, "the lofty idol temples which were built before the manifestation of Islam, are still in existence, and are all built of stones, which from foundation to roof are large and weigh 30 to 40 mounds, placed one on the other."[72] The loftiness of these temples was intact even when G.T. Vigne visited Kashmir in 1842.[73]

By the time the Mughals took over Kashmir, the majority of the population had accepted the faith of Islam and the processes of Islamization by the *Sufi* and the *Rishi* saints were simultaneously going on. According to Abul Fazl and Jahangir, there were about 2000 Rishis committed to the cause of spreading the message of their Shaikh.[74] And so was the case with *Suharawardi silsila* which dominated the religious scene of the Kashmir during the Mughal period. Lamenting over the changes adopted by the non-Muslims, the contemporary historian Jonaraja remarks that, "As the wind destroys the trees and locusts the shali crop (paddy), so did the *yavanas* destroy the usage of Kashmir."[75] Similarly, another medieval historian, Srivara, the successor of Jonaraja, ascribes the misfortune of the people to the acceptance of the changes in their ways of life.[76] Probably, all the major *parganas* of the Kashmir had come to have a considerable portion of the Muslim population. This is not to suggest, however, that the presence of

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[72] Mirza Haider Daughlat, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, p. 358; see also Jahangir, *Tuzki-i-Jahangiri* , Eng. Trans., Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 150

[73] G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo, Countries adjoining the Mountains courses of the Indus and the Himalaya, north of the Punjab*, Vol. I, London,1842, p. 405

[74] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Eng. Trans. Vol., III, p. 355; *Tuzuk*, Vol., II, pp. 149-50

[75] *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J.C.Dutt, p. 235

[76] Srivara, *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J.C.Dutt, p. 136

Hindu population in Kashmir was negligible but they were chiefly concentrated at Srinagar, Vihi, Mattan, Ichh, Nagam, Inderkot, Pattan and Telgam. [77]

With the incorporation of Kashmir into the Mughal Empire in A.D 1586, the Kashmiri Pandits as a community were not unlucky as Emperor Akbar tried to recognise and maintain the regional identities of his empire. He, at the very outset, assured the people to redress all their grievances without distinction based on religious sentiments. The attitude of the Emperor Akbar is clear from his proclamation that: [78]

> No man should be interfered with on account of his religion and everyone should be allowed to change his religion if he liked. If a Hindu woman fell in love with a Muslim and changed her religion, she should be taken from him by force and given back to her family. People should not be molested if they wished to build churches and prayer-rooms or idol temples or fire temples.

Thus, one could safely say that after the annexation of Kashmir by Akbar, the Brahmans must have found a sigh of relief. According to Abul Fazl, Kashmir was a land of Brahmanism, Buddhism and Islam and, "the Brahmans were the most respectable and true worshippers of god…and they did not loose their tongue of calumny against those not of their faith."[79] For Emperor Jahangir, Kashmiri Brahmans were the one of the ancient settlers of the land carrying their religious practices and duties with enthusiasm and sincerity.[80] Sujan Rai Bhandari, a historian of the times of Emperor Aurangzeb, found the Brahmans as an important segment of the Kashmiri society.[81] The mutual tolerance between the Hindus and the Muslims could be gauged from Jahangir's statement that outwardly, 'one cannot distinguish Hindus from Mussulmans'.[82]

On his first visit to Kashmir on 5th of June 1589, the Pandits did not escape the notice of Emperor Akbar; he 'pleased Brahman boys with gift of gold and they blessed him. He then went to Martand (temple) and gave cows adorned with pearls and gold to Brahmans.'[83] Rent free villages were reserved for the Brahmans and it was Aditya

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77 Abul Fazl, *op.cit.*, p. 354; See also Lawrence, *op.cit*, 296

78 Abul Fazl, *op.cit.*, Vol., I, p. 207.

79 *Ibid*, Vol., II, p. 358.

80 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol., II, p. 150.

81 Cf. J. N. Sarkar, *India of Aurangzeb*, Calcutta, 1901, p. 112.

82 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol., II, p. 150.

83 *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J.C.Dutt, p. 417.

Pandita, a Kashmiri, who was appointed to affect a distribution of these lands among the Pandits.[84] A *jagir* worth of the size of *pargana* Intch was given to Ram Das Kachhwah.[85] Respecting their sentiments he also remitted Jaziya, banned cow slaughter. As a result the Brahmans were so pleased that they blessed the King by saying that let he (Akbar) live for an age of 10,000,000,000 years.[86] Suka a contemporary has recorded the measures taken by Akbar as: [87]

> Formerly the kings of the House of Chaks used to extract an annual fine from the Brahmans, owing to their animosity towards the people of that caste. In every house a Brahmana of a good family and character who maintained his own caste used to pay an annual tribute to the king. For the preservation of his sacred thread a Brahmana annually paid a tribute of forty Panas to the king…Now when Jyallaladena (Jalal-ud-din) learnt the condition of the Brahmans, he repealed the practice of levying fines on them …He announced that he would without delay reward those who would respect the Brahmanas of Kashmir, and would instantly pull down the house of those who would take the annual tribute from them.

Thus, it indicates that he was not kindly disposed towards the mainstream Muslims whom he called, "narrow minded conservatives of blind tradition".[88] Akbar followed the policy of *Sulh-i-Kul;* the Brahmans continued to flourish; they enjoyed their traditional rights both in terms of religious and literary activities. It was during his reign, Pandit Suka wrote his own *Rajatarangini* in Sanskrit.[89] Pandit Chandra Bhan, a great scholar, served as a personal secretary (*munshi*) of Prince Dara Shikoh; his book "*Manshaat-i-Brahman*" was taught in the schools of the Mughal Empire;[90] and when Dara Shikoh translated Upanishads into Persian, many Kashmiri Hindus were employed to assist him; one among them was Janardhan Zutshi.[91]

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84 *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J.C.Dutt, p. 423.

85 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol., II, pp. 171-172.

86 *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J.C.Dutt, Vol., III, p. 421.

87 *Ibid* .

88 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Eng. Trans. Vol., III, p. 354.

89 For details see Chapter one.

90 Yusuf Husain, *Glimpses of Medieval Indian Culture*, Delhi, 1974, p. 85.

91 The family still possesses fragments in beautiful calligraphy of the translation. Cf. Henry Sender, *The Kashmiri Pandits*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1988, p. 39.

As mentioned earlier, the general Kashmiris were not sacred and it was neither the Mughal Emperors nor the chroniclers, who have eyed them with particular fondness.[92] The Kashmiri pandits like the Kashmiri Muslims were not less vulnerable as is generally believed.[93] They did, however, prosper in a better way during the Mughal times, because of their personal merit and of their long tradition as administrative servants with mastery on Persian. They served more frequently in the provincial administration; for instance, Pandit Tota Ram acted as Peshkar to the first Mughal governor, Mirza Yusuf Khan, and Pandit Madheo to Ali Mardan Khan. Sudershan Pandit held this post during the governorship of Jaffar Khan (1707-09). During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, Chaudhary Mahesh Shanker Das, held this post and was in possession of fabulous riches.[94] In 1726, Pandit Maha Anand Dhar functioned both as sahibkar and Peshkar and in 1796, the post was held by Pandit Sajan Ram.[95] As per Shaikh Mohsin Fani's *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Pandit Shri Kanta was invested by Jahangir *Padshah* with the dignity of a judge of the Hindus in order that they may be tranquillized and in every concern of personal law and custom, they should have complete autonomy.[96] He has also mentioned the name of many Kashmiri Pandits who had great spiritual powers.[97] During the rule of the Afghans, Har Nam Das Tiku, besides being *peshkar*, held the additional charge of the *Diwan*.[98]

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92 See chapter 2.

93 Ishaq Khan, *Perspective on Kashmir*, Gulshan Books Srinagar, 1983, p. 3.

94 *Majmu'at Tawarikh*, ff. 166ab; J. L. Kilam, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits*, Gandi Memorial College, Srinagar, 1955, pp. 107-108.

95 *Majmu'at Tawarikh*, ff. 197ab, 166ab, 213ab, *Khulasat-ul-Tawarikh*, Urdu trans., pp. 110-111;The Peshkar was the in charge of revenue collection at the village, pargana and city level, while as the *Sahibkar* was in charge of all affairs of the province level.

96 Shaikh Mohsin Fani, *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, Eng., trans., David Shea and Antony Troyer, London, 1843, p. 166; P. N. Bazaz, *The Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir*, p. 72

97 The prominent among them were Shiv Raina, Gyaini Raina, Pandit Gangu, *Loc.cit*; See also R. K. Parmu, *op.cit*, p. 438

98 *Majmu'at Tawarikh*, ff. 238a-39b

The other to have surfaced at the Mughal court and was given high post in administration by Akbar was Sadanand Kaul. He was given the title of Ghumkhaur by Emperor Shah Jahan.[99] Raja Dina Nath Madan entered into the imperial services during the reign of Shah Jahan as being fluent in Persian.[100] Jai Krishan Das served the salt department at the court of Muhammad Shah at Agra.[101] There were many other families like Gurtoos, Kauls, Dars and Saprus, which served the Mughals at different positions.[102]

Moreover, in marked contrast to the Kashmiri Muslims, the ranks of army were not kept closed to Hindus. Miru Pandit was personal body guard of Nur Jahan; he was also appointed as the officer in command of Kamraj province.[103] Bulaqi Pandit was in charge of the border defence and later Makund Pandit held this office. The policy of the Mughals to entrust the Pandits can be very easily understood, as the entire frontier tribes were Muslims and to deal with them a Hindu commander, could be very safely trusted.[104] The recruitment of the Hindus in higher *mansabs* continued unabated throughout the Mughal rule. Examining their position and presence in the Mughal court during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, Prof. Athar Ali concluded that, "despite all the theoretical decisions taken by Aurangzeb against the employment of Hindus to higher revenue offices, in actual practice, he appointed more competent Hindus as higher *mansabdars* in the interest of sound administration than any of his predecessors."[105]

During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb, there are, however, several instances of systematic harassment of the Pandit community by the rulers on spot. Iftikar Khan a governor in between 1671-75, tyrannised the Kashmiri Pandits to such an extent that they approached the ninth guru of the Sikhs for his personal intervention in the matter. This,

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99 Henry Sender, *The kashmiri Pandits, A Study of Cultural Choice in North India",* Oxford University Press, Delhi: 1988, p. 38

100 *Ibid,* p. 39

101 *Bahar-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmir,* Vol., II, pp. 40-41

102 For details see Henry Sender, *The Kashmiri Pandits* pp. 40-42

103 Henry Sender, *The Kashmiri Pandits,* p. 38; J. L. Kilam, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits,* pp. 107-108. He also served as an administrator of Golkonda fort.

104 See T. Ainslie, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Asian History,* New York pp. 89-105

105 M. Athar Ali, *Muslim Nobility under Aurangzeb,* Bombay, 1966, p. 149

ultimately led to the Gurus martyrdoms, and the great Khalsa emerged on the scene. [106] Similarly, Muzaffar Khan, Abu Nasr Khan and Ibrahim Khan let loose a reign of terror over their subjects.[107] But when Emperor Aurangzeb came to know of their maladministration, he removed them and was replaced by better and trusted people.[108] To blame the master (Emperor Aurangzeb) for the harassment of the Kashmiri Pandits by the 'rulers on spot' (governors) is an established custom as according to Jonaraja the "master is responsible for the faults of his servants".[109]

With the passing of Emperor Aurangzeb on 3rd March 1707, the hollowness of the Mughal Empire became visible and it was only after that, the migration of the Kashmiri Pandits became significant. However, it should be unwise to think that migration was a peculiar phenomenon of the Hindus community alone. Muslims too were invariably driven to the migratory conditions due to the struggle for power between the Mughal forces and the ruling families and because of the severe famines that over-whelmed the Kashmir. Following the death of Emperor Aurangzeb in 1707, Inayatullah Khan Kashmiri was given high appointment as governor of province in 1711; it was during his governorship that communal tension between the two principal communities became customary. He did not rule personally, appointed Abdul Nabi also known as Muhtavi Khan, as deputy. Property of Pandit Jai Ram was confiscated and the Hindus were forbidden to ride horse, wear turban, bear arms, having tilak mark on their foreheads and to send their sons to schools. [110] These restrictions were however, removed by Samad Khan and it was during the governorship of Abu Barkat Khan, the Kashmiri pandits regained their former prestige and power; Mukand Ram Khar served as his *peshkar*.[111] When Emperor Farrukhsiyar (1713-1719) sat on the throne of Delhi, a Kashmiri Pandit

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106 Cf. P. N. K. Bamazi, *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol., II, p. 412

107 *Loc.cit*

108 *Loc.cit*

109 Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J. C. Dutt, Kings of Kashmira, pp. 308

110 Shah Nawaz Khan, *Maasir-al Umara*, Eng., trans., H. Beveridge, Vol., I, pp. 160-161; Hakim Ghulam Safdar Hamadani, *Tarikh-e-Shiyan-i-Kashmir*, p. 153; The statement however, has been contradicted by a contemporary writer, who states that, throughout the Mughal rule the Hindus were regularly permitted to ride horse, put on turban (*pagdi*), wear precious clothes and bear arms. *Waqi'at-i-Kashmir*, Urdu trans., pp. 446, 497.

111 *Ibid*; Ghulam Safdar Hamadani, *Tarikh-e-Shiyan-i-Kashmir*, p. 153.

namely Raj Kaul was employed as a tutor to members of Emperor's family and was also given an extensive *jagir* in Delhi.[112]

Moreover, when Kashmir was annexed by the Afghans, who treated Kashmir as a tributary than an integral part of Afghanistan, the presence and position of the Kashmiri Pandits shot into prominence as administrators, revenue collectors and diplomats. For instance Pandit Nand Ram Tiku was raised to the office of *diwan* of Kabul, Sukh Ram Safaya acted as principal revenue collector of governor Azim Khan. Pandit Mahanand Dhar, Khalash Dhar, Diwan Munshi Bhawani Das, Vasa Kak Dhar, Diwan Hara Das, Dila Ram Quli, Balabadhar Das, Raj Kak Dhar Ram Sapru, etc acted as *Tehsildar*, *sahibkars* (chief secretaries), *Peshkars* (Magistrates and collectors), and *Diwans* (collectors general).[113]. Furthermore, according to Baron Hugel, "almost every business and occupation in the service of the higher orders was transacted by Brahmans under Pathan Governors".[114] There strong service linkage with the Afghans is also testified by their occupational surnames like Khazanchi, Sazwal, Munshi, Lambardhar, Fotadar, Gunju Bamzai etc.[115]

II. THE MUSLIM SOCIETY:

The religion of Islam did not enter Kashmir directly from a midst Arab deserts, the place of its birth; but it makes a way by passing through Iran and Central Asia which came under the sway of Muslims by the end of eighth century. It is now an established fact that the Muslims settled in Kashmir, prior to the establishment of the Sultanate 1339 C.E.[116] Their presence is understandable as the Muslim conquerors, firstly the Arabs and the Turks, on many occasions, directed their military expeditions towards the Kashmir. According to the author of *Chachanama*, [117] in A.D 713, Muhammad Bin Qasim, the

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[112] Bansi Dhar Nehru, *A Short History of Nehru Family*, Nehru Memory Library, Delhi, p. 43.

[113] Cf. R. K. Parmu, *op.cit*, p. 353

[114] *Travels in Cashmere and the Punjab*, p. 220

[115] For details see Mohammad al Din Fouq, *Tawarikh-i-Aqwam-i-Kashmir*, Vol., I

[116] Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. trans., M. A. Stein, 2 Vols., Moti Lal Banirsidass, Delhi, 1979, Book iv, p. 397

[117] It is a multi genre Persian text written in Uch in 1226 C.E by Ali Kufi. The celebrated author giving the wisdom and bravery with which Muhammad bin Qasim, in 712 CE,

Arab general after consolidating his hold over Sindh, marched towards the frontiers of Kashmir called Panj Nahiyat. But, the threat to Kashmir was averted as the general was recalled back by the Caliph Walid (705-715) to his court.[118] Writing about the conquests of Mohammad bin Qasim, *Al-Biruni* states that: [119]

> He entered India proper and penetrated even as far as Kanauj, marched through the country of Gandhara and on his way back through the confines of Kashmir sometimes, fighting sword in hand sometimes gaining his ends by treaties, leaving to the people their ancient beliefs, except in the case of those who wanted to become Muslim.

He also writes that[120]:

> Turk tribes called Bhatwaren lived in areas to the right of Bolar and Shamlan. Their king is known as Bota Shah. Their townships are Ashwir, Gilgit and Shiltas, their language is Turki. Kashmiris bear the brunt of their incursions.

Attempts, however, were made by the Arabs, during the Caliphate of al- Hasham (724-53) and al-Mansur (754-75), who according to P. K. Hitti, carried their raids as far as Kashmir, the rich and extensive valley of the north-west Himalaya, also failed to conquer it.[121] The assertion of the presence of Muslims can also be traced from the celebrated work of Kalhana that "he (King Vajraditya 763-770 C.E was a younger son of Lalitaditya Muktapida) sold many men to the *Mleechas* (Muslims) and introduced into the country the practices which befitted Mleechas".[122] In the second decade of eleventh century C. E, Mahmud Ghaznavi, while conducting the military expeditions to India, attempted to

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conquered al Hind w'al Sind, besieged forts, built mosque and governed with wisdom. For details see Manan Ahmed, *The long thirteenth Century of the Chachanama*, The Indian Economic and Social History Review, 49, 4, 2012, pp. 459-91

118 Ali Kufi, *Chach-nama*, *Eng.,* trans., H.M. Elliot, history of India, Vol., I, p. 144; cf. Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi, *Sufism in Kashmir*, Bharatiya Publishing House, Delhi, n.d, p. 1

119 Al Biruni, *Kitab-fi Tahqiq ma li' l- Hind*, ed., and trans., Edward C. Sachau, New Delhi, 1988, p. 21.

120 Al Biruni, *Kitab-fi Tahqiq ma li' l- Hind*, p.206.

121 Ali Kufi, *op.cit*, pp. 445-46; P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Macmillan Press, London, 2001, p. 292.

122 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Eng. trans., M. A. Stein, Book iv, p. 397 [vol.1, p.158] The statement of Kalhana according to Khan is vague as Kings do not sell men they rather buy them. Muzaffar Ahmed Khan, *Kashmiri Muslims- An Historical Outline*, Vol.1, Humanizer Publications, Srinagar, 2012, p. 151.

conquer Kashmir on two occasions but failed because of strong fortresses at Loharkote and of extreme weather like heavy storm and snowfall.[123] The desire of Sultan to invade Kashmir can be understood from these Persian couplets:-[124]

Ma ra rahi Kashmir hami arzu ayad
Ma ze arzu'i khwes nitabim bayak moui
Gah ast ki yakbar bakashmir kharamaim
Az dast butan pehneh kuna'im az sar but gav'i
Shah ast bakashmir agar izad khahad
Imsal nyaram ta keen nakashm zo'i

English rendering-

> We possess an aspiration to see Kashmir. We will not give up our desire. It is time that we will at once walk into Kashmir. If God wishes we will be in Kashmir this year. We will not sit idle till we take it.

It was also because of the policy of the Kashmiri rulers as put by Al-Biruni that "they are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take as much care to keep strong hold upon the entrances and roads leading into it".[125] However, various dates (1015, 1021) have been given to Mahmud Ghazanvi's expedition to Kashmir by the Muhammadan chroniclers says M A Stein, but they agree, "that the Sultan had advanced to the confines of Kashmir, when his progress in the mountains was barred by the fort of *Loharkot*."[126] The author of *Tarikh-i- Bihaqi* states that Mahmud plundered a valley in south Kashmir (*Tohi* in Punch) and converted large number of people there.[127] However, the local chronicler Hasan Khoihami, presents a different story which lacked credibility when cross checked with contemporary sources of the period; he states that the Samgramaraja, unable to resist the might of Mahmud Ghaznavi, signed a truce with him to rule and allowed Ghazni to stay in the Valley. He stayed for thirty-one days and

123 Abul Fazl Baihaqi, *Tarikh-i- Bahaqi*, Vol, I, Tehran, 1964, p. 270.

124 Farukhi Sistani, Devan-i- Farukhi, Tehran, p. 325.

125 Al Biruni, *Kitab-fi Tahqiq ma li' l- Hind*, ed., and trans., Edward C. Sachau, Alberuni India, New Delhi, 1988, p. 206

126 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Vol., I, p. 108

127 Abul Fazl Baihaqi, *Tarikh-i- Bahaqi*, Vol., I, 270; The statement of Bahaqi is doubtless as the twelfth-century Sanskrit chronicler of Kashmir also describes this invasion, but does not speak of any conversion to Islam.

converted good number of people to Islam; offered early afternoon prayers on *Takht-i-Sulyman* and returned to Ghazni via *Loharkot* and Rajauri.[128]

Thus, from the sources quoted above, one can safely conclude that, some Muslims might have stayed behind and settled in Kashmir after the Conquest of Kashmir by Mahmud Ghaznavi. King Harsha (1098-1101 C.E) of Kashmir, a poet and a lover of fine arts, whom Kalhana called epithet of '*turuska*', went a step further, as he recruited *Mleechas* in his army and made innovations in dress and etiquettes, which according to M.A Stein was "custom from the Muhammadan west"[129] Elaborating these innovations, Kalhana writes:[130]

> The King [Harsha], who was free from jealousy, introduced into his land elegant fashions, just as the spring into the forest. Formerly people in this country had, with the single exception of the king, worn their hair loose, had carried no head-dress and no ear-ornaments. In this land where the commander in-chief Madana, by dressing his hair in braids, and his prime minister Jayananda, by wearing a short coat of bright colour, had incurred the king's displeasure, there this ruler introduced for general wear a dress which was fit for the king.

It was also during the reign of Biksacara (1120-21C.E) that the Muslim soldiers were recruited and sent on an expedition against Sussala in Lohara.[131] Quite interestingly the employment of the Muslim in the armies of the Kashmiri kings would have either brought their families alongwith them or married with Hindu girls and settled in separate colonies. Another well known factor was that, those who married within, the parents of these girls might have also accepted Islam in order to be in touch with their daughters. As the Venetian traveller from Venice, Morco Polo, reveals that at the end of the thirteenth century there was a colony of *Saracens* (Muslims) in Kashmir.[132] He also writes that, 'the people (the Brahmans and the Buddhists) did not kill birds and animals and when they

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128 Hasan Khoihami, *Tarikh-i- Kashmir,* Vol., II, pp. 170-71

129 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Book vii, p.923

130 *Ibid*, p. 921-24, vol.1, p. 339

131 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, viii, 884-886; Vol. II, pp. 68-70

132 Sir Henry Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. I, London, 1903, p. 167. In ancient Kashmir, the Muslims of the capital (Srinagar), lived in a separate part called *Malchemar.* Mar stands for locality and *Malche* stands for Muslims. This is situated on the right banks of river Jhelum near Ali Kadal. Word *Mleeche* was actually used for foreigners, even today in New Delhi a sector of Chanakyapuri is known as *Malcha Marg*, as being a home of foreign embassies.

want to eat meat they get the *Saracens* who dwell among them to play the butcher'.[133] The evidence of Morco Polo that Kashmiri Brahmans were meat eaters, can't be doubted as the mystic poetess of early fourteenth century also confirms it. Lal Ded, referring to the sufferings from her in-laws in one of her *Vaakh* writes:[134]

Hond Maren ya Maren Kath,
Lalli Nalayvath Tsali Na Zaanh

It's English rendering:

They may slaughter a sheep or tender lamb,
Lalla will for sure have the usual small meal.

Apart from these permanent Muslim settlers before the establishment of Sultanate A.D 1339, the merchants of Kashmir visited all important places for the purpose of trade or commerce. They went out with their merchandise and brought goods from distant and near places like Kabul, Yarqand, and Samarqand.[135] The artisans and the craftsmen from Central Asia were invited to put a gift parasol on the Kalasvara temple.[136] Similarly, so profound and remarkable was the influence of the Muslims that the celebrated Kashmiri writer Kalhana makes stupendous use of the Persian phraseology such as, *Davira* after Persian *dabir, Ganjwara* after Persian *ganjwar* (treasurer) , *sultan, shah, silah* etc. in his writings.[137] This could also be seen as a mark of the cultural diffusion received by the early Kashmiri society when they came into contact with the Muslims.

It can now safely be deduced from the above that the influence of Islam was making itself felt in the Valley of Kashmir without hostility and there was a constant cultural exchange, commercial relationship and the exchange of artisans long before the foundation of the Sultanate. It also seems munificent that the Hindu rulers were more

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133 *Loc.cit*

134 N. K. Singh, *Shaivism in Kashmir*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2000, p. 367; For details see Muzaffar Ahmad Khan, Kashmiri Muslims, Humanizer Publications, Srinagar, 2012, pp. 158-159

135 For details see, Showkat Ahmad Dar, *Dynamics of Trade and Commerce, regional relations and the State Policies of Mughals in Kashmir,* In Sarita Rana, *Socio-Cultural Developments in Mughal India, KG Graphics,* Amritsar, 2013, pp. 94-104

136 K.L. Kalla, *Kashmir Heritage Folk Songs and Sharda Lippi,* 2nd ed. Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2011, p. 40

137 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, vii. p 119, 126,

hospitable to these Muslim fortune seekers and adventures; and remained greatly depended on them. This encouraged the Muslim missionaries from Persia and Central Asia to enter the half-closed ecosystem to preach their faith (Islam). Among these, the most distinguished were Bulbul Shah, Sayyid Taj al Din, Sayyid Husain Simnani, Mir Ali Hamadani, Mir Muhammad Hamadani, and Shamas al-Din Iraqi.[138] It is also interesting to note that the idea of enlisting the Sufis as missionaries to Kashmir was considered by Mohammad bin Tughlaq of Delhi Sultanate, when he asked one of the eminent Chisti Sufi, Moulana Shamas-ud-din Yahya, what business a scholar like him had in capital? Why did he not go to Kashmir; reside in the temples there and invite people to embrace Islam? However, the Sufi died before the sultan could force him to go to Kashmir.[139] Due to the commendable role played by these missionaries along with the Rishis or indigenous Sufis the religious demography of Kashmir was completely changed at the turn of the sixteenth century; Hinduism was replaced by Islam as a mass religion of the Valley of Kashmir.

Islam, literally means ‘to yield and submit’, incorporates a monotheistic ideology based on the belief that there is “No god but God, the Supreme Creator of the Universe” and “Submit to Him and associate nothing with Him”.[140] It is also quite opposite to the polytheistic forms of worship and caste-oriented social system. Instead of caste, colour and creed, the position of an individual is determined by the degree of faith and piety he possessed.[141] Islam retained the complete monotheistic philosophy only in Arabian Peninsula, the hub of Islamic world and its birth place. When the world of Islam got

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138 For the role of the Sufi missionaries See Altaf Hussain Yatoo, *The Islamization of Kashmir*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 2012

139 Sayyid Muhammad bin Mubarak Kirmani, *Siyaru’l Auliya*, Urdu trans., Ghulam Ahmed Biryan, Lahore, 2012, p. 220

140 Al- Quran, IV : 36

141 يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ إِنَّا خَلَقْنَٰكُم مِّن ذَكَرٍ وَأُنثَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَٰكُمْ شُعُوبًا وَقَبَآئِلَ
لِتَعَارَفُوٓا۟ إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ أَتْقَىٰكُمْ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ عَلِيمٌ خَبِيرٌ

English Translation: “O mankind! We created you from a single pair of a male and female and made you into nations and tribes that ye may know each other. Verily the noblest of you in the sight of Allah is the most pious of you. Al-Quran, *Surah al-Hujuraat*, verse-13

extended from Spain to Central Asia and Kashmir, it made vital compromises with the pagan, Buddhist and Hindu traditions of these lands and in retrospect undermined the egalitarianism of Islam and reduced its democratic principles to merely a paper edict. The influences of the Iranian and Central Asian culture immersed so much in the Kashmiri traditions that it becomes a miscellany of heterogeneous borrowed principles.

In the context of Islam in Kashmir, it was similar in content and practice to that of the Central Asian Islam not that of the Arabia where it took birth. It reached Kashmir with the Central Asian colour. The neo-converts to Islam did not completely part their ways and ignore the age old traditions and customs of the religion they have been following before their conversion. They continued visiting temples, performing Hindu rituals, invoking *gair-ul- allah* for help and blessings which was quite contrary to that of the teachings of Islam.[142] Moreover, like Central Asian environment, Kashmiris acknowledged the power of their local saints, commonly known as *Darwashes* as supreme and they assumed quasi-divine position. Shaikh Sayyid Ali Hamdani considers the Sufis as the axis around which the whole universe revolves and Baba Da'ud Khaki, a disciple of Shaikh Makhdum Hamza of Suhrawardi Saint even justified pilgrimages to their tombs and the *tawaf* around them were equated with the *tawaf* around the holy Kabba. [143] The position and importance of the *Pir* was exalted and can be vivid by the sayings of Khaki as:

چون تو بی پیری درین گمرهیست شیطان کند
بی پیر بی پیر است شیطان از نبی صلعم خبر شد است

As you are without a guide, the *satan* will lead you astray,
A guideless is guided by *satan is* the prophet saying.

مردن بی پیر با زندیق و کافر شد شبیه
نیست پروایت که موتت در چه حالت در شد است

Death without a guide is the death of a heretic or an infidel,
Do not worry for your death wherever it fell

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142 Mushtaq A Kaw, *Multi Culture Traditions in Kashmir: Central Asian Linkages,* Journal of Peace Studies, Vol. 17, Issue 2&3, April-September, 2010.

143 ` *Dhakhirat al-Muluk,* tr., Shamas-al-Din Ahmad, Vol., I, pp.61-70.

موت بے پیرے بہ موت جاہلیت شد شبیہ
خوش کسے او مر امام و پیر فرمانبر شد است

Death without a guide is like the death of an ignorant,
What a lucky person, who keeps his guide in front.

عیب پیران ہر کہ از کوری و بے شرمی گزید
در دو عالم روسیاہ و زار و پال ابتر شد است

It is shamelessness and blindness that a man finds fault with his guides,
Such a person is ruined and disgraced here and hereafter abides.

The indelible impact of the local beliefs and the quasi-divine approach of the Pir[s] encouraged the tomb worship and the strong *Pir-Muridi* relation in the Valley; the saints both living and dead came to be recognised with miraculous powers and mysterious influences and a source of spiritual blessings. According to Walter Lawrence, "the Musalmans from all parts of the valley flock to *Charar Sharif*, and when scarcity is imminent, where calamities such as earthquake, cholera and drought occur, thousands gather there and sit silent on the hills around, confessing their sins and begging for pardon." [144] He further says that, "the people believe that a visit to the shrines will secure the object of their wishes. Sick men will regain health, women will be vouchsafed children and the litigant will win their case".[145] A popular Kashmir folk idiom, which still are on the lips of common man also highlighted the importance of the tombs worship as:

Whosoever visited *Tshar, Bumzoo,* and *Muqam*
He would escape from the fire of hell

In complete divorce to the Arab traditions, the importance of the shrines and relic worship can be had from the fact that when the relic of Prophet Muhammad ﷺ was brought to Kashmir by Sayyid Ali Hamadani, who is known as *Bani-e-Islam* in Kashmir, many people in order to see it were trampled to death in the stampede.[146] What is most

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[144] Walter Lawrence, *op.cit,* p. 288.

[145] *Ibid,* pp. 288-289.

[146] Khuihami, Pir Hasan Shah,, *Tarikh-i- Hasan*, Urdu trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, "*Tarikh-i-Hasan"*, Vol., I, City Book Centre, Srinagar, 2003., p. 293; See also for details G. H. Khan, *The Kashmiri Muslims*, p. 122; Farooq Fayaz, *Folklore and History of Kashmir*, p. 167.

interesting that during the process of Islamization in Kashmir, the Sufi masters did not object to these fundamental violations of the neo-converts to Islam. That is why in huff, the author of the *Tuhfatu'l Ahbab* remarks:[147]

> None of the Ulema and the Sayyids forbade these practices; why should they since these practices are in the vogue in their own homes. Their wives are the faithful believers of Hinduism so much so that they did not initiate any work without consulting the Hindu Sadhus.

Little wonder therefore, when Hinduism was replaced by Islam as the mass religion of the people of Kashmir, there were minimal differences between these two communities. No doubt there was an institutional change; temple, *asthapanas* and *maths* were replaced by *mosques*, *khanqahs* and tombs of saints, but their association with the age old values and customs of Hinduism continued after their conversion to Islam. One of the glaring examples of composite culture which also highlighted the fondness of the converts to pagan practices and the compromise of the missionaries was that when once Shamas al-Din Iraqi intended to cut down the tree of a Hindu shrine, the women folk of the neighbouring Muslim family (Khwaja Kadaie's) raised such a hue and cry that Iraqi was forced to abandon the project.[148] Instances are not wanting to show that the ruling class Muslims and the men of great accomplishments (*sahib-i-karamat*) paying homage to the distant Hindu places of worship.[149] Srivara, a fifteenth century Brahman Scholar records the tour undertaken by his patron, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin as[150]-

> The king (Zain-ul-Abidin) was bent on going to pilgrimage and he went to Vigayeshvara in the year thirty nine on the last day of fortnight fixed for giving offerings to the deceased ancestors….wearing a noble appearance in his pity, he saw Vishnu's foot marked at the Krama laks, and felt the joy of bowing at the feet of Vishnu. From me (Srivara) he heard the songs of Gita Govind and then arose in his mind a feeling of piety towards Govinda…Truly the king is the incarnation of Vishnu and he thrice around the lake of piety, when journeying to

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[147] *Tuhfatu'l Ahbab*, p. 197.

[148] *Tuhfatu'l Ahbab*, pp. 196-197.

[149] The author of *Tuhfatu'l Ahbab* remarks that the alim namely Moulana Makhdum Usman paid occasional visits to the headquarter of 'Sultan of the time' at Noushahr and when he reached near Loka Swami Temple, he used to alight from his horse and walk barefoot till the temple would go out of sight. p. 257; See also Sayid Ali, *Tawarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 5a, 5b.

[150] Srivara, *Jaina Rajatarangini*, pp. 146-148.

> the Sukumara lake, the king drank the water of that lake and meditated on the Sukumara Shrine and he felt a delight as if he had obtained the purity of his soul. The king heard the names of holy places, touched the auspicious waters from the shrine, tasted the cool water; saw the beauty of the forest trees and scented the perfumes of plants and flowers and thus performed the pilgrimage.

It may also be interesting to note that because of the importance given by the Muslims of Kashmir to the shrines or tomb worship, the very Brahman Scholar Srivara defends his religion against Islam. He writes that:[151]

> The Mausulas (Muslims) always take care about the structure over their graves and pay money to the architects. They do not think that none can know, except God, when or how one may die... An ordinary man carefully encloses a hundred cubits of land and prevents others from entering it; should not be ashamed of this? It is said in the (Muslim) Shastra that if a small stone be laid on the grave that stone becomes a source of joy to the man who has gone to the other world. Alas! The strength of cupidity! Even the dead, like the living, keep possession of the ground under the pretence of having a tomb. Great men seem to enjoy their life in taking pains over building tombs, but how many men there are who go hungry: Admirable is the practice enjoined by the other (Hindu) Shastra, for tens of millions of dead are burnt on one cubit of land and the land remains the same in extent.

It should be borne in mind that with a few exceptions i.e. those who immigrated from other Muslim lands, the Kashmiri Muslims are the descendents of Hindu converted to Islam. Notwithstanding their mass conversion from Hinduism to Islam, the social structure continued to remain intact and the Muslim society retained the element of social stratification upheld by birth, ancestry and occupations. Like the Brahmans, the Sayyids and the Ulamas boasted on their noble pedigrees claimed the superior position.[152]

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151 Srivara, *Jaina Rajatarangini*, pp. 192-193.

152 The superior position claimed by Ulema's was highly criticised by Shaikh Noor-ud-din. For details see *Kulyat-i-Shaikh-ul-Alam*, p. 118; Sayyid Ali Hamadani too criticised those who claimed highest positions on the basis of rich descent. See *Dhakhirat-ul-Mulk*, Vol., I, pp. 363-67. They were generally appointed on the highest government offices, like Shelkh-ul-Islam, Qazis, Muftis, Muhatasibh, Imam and teachers. Sayid Ali, ff 23a, 28a; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff6 2a-b, Shaikh Nuru-ud-din criticises those ulemas who claimed special position on basis of rich ancestry. Even the Sufis who became hostage of petty and mundane motives were also criticised as:-[152]

They wear big turbans and long garments;

They carry stick in their hands;

They go far place to place;

Sell their prayers and fasts in return for food.

Similarly, so did the Shaikhs who represented the convert class, comprised of Pirzadas, Babazadas etc.[153] The Mullahs or priesthood of Kashmir are class by themselves and were further divided into two classes, one learned in law designated as Maulvi, Kazi, Akhund or Mufti, and Mullahs less learned play a creditable role as teachers in *maktabs* (primary school), gave calls and led the prayers. They like the Bhasa-bhatta's lived on free gifts.[154] The other class who have fallen in social position, consists of Mal; they wash and prepare the bodies of the dead for burial, dig graves. They also officiate at the birth, *niqah* or marriages and death ceremonies of the Musli; like the Brahmans who were exogamous in relation to *gotra* and endogamous *vis-à-vis* to caste. The Kashmiri so called high caste Muslims (the Sayyids, the Shaikhs, the Mullahs etc.) became endogamous within the social group.

The Mughals patronised the religious class by confirming grants on them and according to Haider Malik, large number of people were bestowed *madad-i-maash* grants permanently without any condition.[155] Sheikh Muhammad Arif enjoyed a charitable grant of fifty *kharwar* of paddy, valuing twelve hundred *dams* in village Kandirar in *Pargana* Adwin.[156] Muhammad Shafi received a grant amounting to three thousand and 600 dams from the revenue of Pargana Nagam.[157] The descendents of Shaikhs, Sayyids, Babas and Khans were also confirmed *madad-i-maash* grants both in kind and cash. Musammatti Jana Bi Bi w/o Zia-ul-llah Darvesh, decedent of Sheikh Hamza Makhdoom was given a *madad-i-maash* grant in cash amounting to three thousand six hundred *dams*

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153 The Pirzadas claim to be the descendents of holy mendicants and considered equal to the Sayyids and intermarried with them. The Babazads were the descendents of Khalifas of most reverent saint Makhdum Sahab. The Mughals rulers also patronised them. The grants in land and grain were lavished on the Khanqah of Shaikh Hamza for the maintenance of the disciple and the descendents of the saint. See Abdul Majid Matoo, *op.cit*., p. 157

154 For details see Lawrence, *op.cit.*, p. 308

155 Haider Malik, Tawarikh-i-Kashmir, ff. 102-103

156 Document No., 2525, Research and Publication Department, University of Kashmir, Srinagar

157 Document No.,574/2, Research and Publication Department, University of Kashmir, Srinagar

from the revenue of Pargana Nagam.[158] The descendents of late *Sadrus Sadur* Abid Khan was given madad-i-maash grant of 60 Kharwars from the revenue of Wular Pargana.[159] Aurangzeb is said to have granted land to the pandas of Mattan. [160] Similarly, the land grants known as *Waqf* were given to the religious institutions, administered by *mutawalis.* The prominent of these grants are grants attached to the Shrines and mosques of Hazratbal, Jamia Masjid, Shah Hamadan, Muhammad Shah Naqashbandi, Pather Masjid and Khanqah-i-Mohalla received the grants.[161] The minuscule of the ruling and religious elites had a considerable sway over the state and society. Next to this privileged class, there was a middle class drawing modest income from small holdings of land and from trade and commerce or services in lower posts under the state or from work under the nobles. They were heterogeneous in origin as also in occupation.

At the bottom rung of the social ladder were those which were supposed to be the remnants of inferior Sudras whom Muhammad-ud-din Fauq called *Adna-i-Aqwam* (the lower castes). They included Dums, Galwans, Bands, Chaupans, Haenz and Wattals.[162] They were scattered in all parts of the Kashmir and were generally landless agricultural

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[158] Document No., 608/8, Research and Publication Department, University of Kashmir, Srinagar

[159] Document No.,574/50, Research and Publication Department, University of Kashmir, Srinagar

[160] J. L. Kilam, *op.cit*., p. 138

[161] *Tawarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., I, pp. 316-318

[162] Dums are the village menials and watchmen. They also do little policing on behalf of

administration. Hanji's live and die in boats; they manned the principle mode of transport through rivers. The Galwans were traditionally horse-keepers and a century back became robbers. The Khaira Galwan was their chief. The Watals work on leather and continually migrate to towns and cities and work as scavengers. For details see Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, pp. 309-318; The community *(Hanjis)* are professionally divide into many sections and the stratification is essential on the basis of occupational and social status, *Hanjis* are divisible into

Doonga- *Haenz*- Owners of passenger boats

Demb- *Haenz*- Vegetable growers

Gari-*Haenz*- Who gather singhara nuts

Shikara-*Haenz*- Who ply shikaras boats

Haka-*Haenz*- who collects wood from water bodies

Gad-*Haenz*- Fishermen

labourers. Both in the lower castes and the profession based social groups of the working class, the social intercourse was strictly confined to their own respective categories. However, interestingly in the lucrative professions, some sort of mobility had been noticeable while as in the uneconomic professions, it was restricted to certain caste groups.[163]

It is equally important to note that throughout the Sultanate period there was a steady stream of Muslim migration from Persia, Central Asia and from other countries to Kashmir. In the company of Sayid Ali, Sayid Mohammad Hamadani and Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi hundreds of missionaries at once entered Kashmir.[164] Besides, the missionaries there were Persian speaking immigrants, whose descendents (Mir, Beg, Ashai, Banday, Buchhas, Kant, Ganai and Pathan) formed an important element of Kashmiri society in the Mughal period.[165] They enjoyed the prominent positions in the land revenue as well as in the general administration of Kashmir after the death of Emperor Shah Jahan.[166] Moreover, interestingly in order to preserve their lineage they did not intermarry with the ordinary Kashmiri Muslims.[167] The indigenous influential classes of Kashmiri society such as Chaks, Magrays, Dars, Rainas and Bhatts, which undoubtedly formed what may be loosely called the social elite, enjoying greater economic advantages than the other sections or groups.[168] Interestingly, so far as the composition of revenue machinery and general administration during the Mughal period was concerned, it was held by the foreigners like Iranis, Turanis, Afghans, and Hindustanis. The Kashmiris were allowed to

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163 For details see T. N. Madan, *Religious Ideology and Social Structure: The Muslims and Hindus of Kashmir*, In Imtiyaz Ahmad (ed.) *Rituals and Religion among Muslims in India*, pp. 31-33

164 For details see *Sufism in Kashmir*, op.cit., pp. 20-66

165 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, *op.cit,* Urdu Trans., Sharif Husain, pp. 495-46. The family of Kants held big jagirs and it was during the reign of governor Abu Barkat Khan, Mir Jaffar Kant held prominent position in the administration of the suba and as such, was given '*Machipora'* pargana in Jagir. Mir Muqim Kant was given village "*Kuihama*" as Jagir. *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, f. 231b

166 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, *op.cit,* Urdu Trans., Vol., II, p. 434

167 Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet*, p. 22; Walter Lawrence, *op.cit.*, p. 309

168 See Ishaq Khan, *Kashmiriyat Ka Badalta Howa Tasawwur' in Nawa-i-Subh*, Srinagar. Dars were the Damaras of Kalhana, during the sultanate period the post of *Pratihara* (Minister-in-Waiting) was the monopoly of this family period.

hold the lower positions like Qanungo, Chaudhari, Muqaddam and Patwari.[169] A change was however, witnessed only under the later Mughals.[170] Moreover, Kashmiri merchants, soldiers, poets, artisans and scholars served outside Kashmir and spread all over India, while as Iranis, Turanis, Afghans, and Hindustanis came to Kashmir and settled in the Suba. This mobilization gave a new turn to the existing social order.[171]

Speaking socio-economically, the real dividing line among the Kashmiri Muslims was between the agriculturist and the non agriculturist *(Nangar)*. [172] The Nangars comprised generally the artisan community like blacksmith, carpenters, masons, weavers, potters, oil-pressers, cobblers, etc-a heterogeneous community. They were to be found both in urban and rural areas. Their position in the town was as vital as that of the cultivator in the village. His products constituted one of the chief sources through which the towns could eventually acquire an independent economic status.[173] They also constituted an important part of the rural society. They worked for the villagers and had no hereditary land of their own. They either received a fixed share of the harvest or paid according to nature of the work. No intermarriage took place between these two classes.[174]

From this general survey, it became abundantly clear that, on the basis of striking economic disparities or the control over the means of production, the Kashmir society was divided into two major categories; *asudah ahwal* (well-to-do) and *saqim ul-ahwal* (indigent). The *asudah ahwal* (well-off class) were those who were employed in various

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169 Munshi Har Karan, *Insha-I Har Karan,* Per., Ms., Sulaiman collection Maulana Azad Library, Aligrah, ff. 35ab

170 Birbal Kachru, *Majmu at Tawarikh,* , Per., Ms., Research and Publication Department, University of Kashmir, Srinagar, ff., 220ab

171 Cf. Majid Matoo, *op.cit.,* p. 133

172 Zamindars were of three categories a) The Primary *Zamindars* or Village *Zamindars*, (b) Intermediary *Zamindars or* Pargana Zamindars who belonged to different castes some of which appear to be the offshoot of the Central Asian tribes, for example Beig, Bandey, and Mir. C) *Tributary Chieftains or Hilly Chieftains*. The Zamindars generally happened to be the chiefs of the most important land owning families like Chaks, Dars, Magreys, Rainas, Bhats, etc. Cf. Mushtaq Ahmad Kaw, *op.cit.,* pp. 191-208.

173 N. K. Naqvi, *Urbanisation and Urban Centres Under the Great Mughals,* pp. 5-6.

174 *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol., XV, pp. 103-104; Neve, *Things seen in Kashmir*, pp. 150-153; Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*., p. 315.

State departments. Naturally the Pandits represented that class; besides, a class of traders, shop keepers and petty officials also formed that class.[175] The majority among them lived in Srinagar around the banks of river Jhelum; had at least five storied wooden houses and each storey contained halls; galleries and towers. The ground floor was reserved for cattle, first for family apartments, second and third reserved for household chattels.[176] The roofs were slanted covered with planks, and brick bark covered with fine earth.[177] They had also small gardens, which according to *Bernier*, "produce a very pretty effect, especially in spring and summer, when many parties of pleasure take place on the water."[178] Stone, lime, and baked bricks too were used. They relished sumptuous dishes like roasted meat, fish and fowl;[179] attire costly dresses of imported cuts and fashions.[180] On the other hand, the common populace *(saqim ul-ahwal)* lived in huts, thatched with rich straw and reeds. They usually subsisted on *wagrabhatta* (rice gruel) and simple boiled vegetables; covered their body from the neck to the waist with a loose large sleeved woollen tunic called *kurta* (probably *Pheran*).[181]

III SUNNI-SHIA INTERACTIONS/CONFLICTS

It is a historical fact that upto the end of 15th century, the Sunnis formed the greater majority of Muslim population in the Kashmir; however about the origin of Shi'ism (*Ithna Ashriyyah*-believers in twelve Imams) and its *Bani* in Kashmir. There are many contradictory views in the historical works. Sharif-ud-din Yezdi while quoting *Zafar Nama* in *Kitab-ul Majalis-ul-Moomneen* states that Sayyid Ajad Mohammad Hamadani, a close associate of *Ali-i-Thani* and *Bani-i-Muslamani* Sayyid Ali Hamadani, converted

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175 Cf. P. N. K Bamazi, *op.cit.*, p. 481.

176 *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* op.cit, p. 457; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari,* II, p. 169; *Tuzuk,* Vol., II, p. 298.

177 *Ibid.*

178 Bernier, *op.cit*., 398; See also Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 147.

179 Baba Dawud Mishkatl, *Asrar-ul-Abrar,* f. 8oa.

180 *Gulshan-i- Dastur,* ff. 432; Forester, *op.cit*., pp. 11-12.

181 See Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, pp. 147-148; For details see *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, op.cit., p. 457; Anonymous, *Thafat-ul Ahbab,* pp. 282-283; Moti Lai Saqi, *Kulliyat-i- Shalkh-ul-Alam*, pp. 26-27.

many people in Kashmir to Shia faith.[182] Then the work was carried on by Sayyid Mohammad Madni and Sayyid Husain Qummi. The former had initially settled in Mulmuh, pargana Bangil, later on was invited to the capital city by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin; while as the latter one preached his doctrine in a village Sa'dapora, Sopore.[183] It is interesting to note here that, like the great mystic savite saint of medieval Kashmir "Lal Ded" who is claimed as a Muslim by the Muslims and a Hindu by Hindus. Similarly, so was the Sayyid Mohammad Madni for Sunnis and Shi'as of Kashmir.[184]

The propagation of the Shia sect/order in Kashmir is connected with the name of Shamas al-Din Iraqi, a disciple of Shah Qasim, son and successor of Sayyid Mohammad Nurbakhsh, the founder of Nurbakshiyyah sect. He came to Kashmir in A.D1481 as an envoy of Timurid Sultan Husain Mirza of Herat (Afghanistan 1469-506)) to the court of Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-84).[185] There are many contradictory reports about Shamas al-Din Iraqi and his mission. According to Mohammad al-Din Fauq, "Iraqi was a Shi'a",[186] while as the author of *Tawarikh-i-Rashidi* remarks that he [Mir Iraqi] was not a Shia but Nurbakshiyyah.[187] Mohammad Azam in the *Tarikh-i-Azami* states that Shamas al-Din Iraqi propagated the Ithna Ashriyyah teachings under the garb of the Nurbakshiyyah doctrine.[188] Introducing the Nurbakshiyyah sect, Prof. Mohibbul Hasan states:[189]

> The Nurbakshiyyah movement was of a mystical character. Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh claimed to have seen the divine light and to have received the esoteric teachings of Ali through the Imam Jafar-i-Sadiq. He

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[182] See Mohammad Jalal-ud-din Gazi, "*Haz Shams-ud-Din*" in Alirshad, Anjumani Sharee Shiyan, Badgam Kashmir, Vol. I, No, 4, p. 47.

[183] *Tarikh-i-Shi'an-i-Kashmir*, pp. 13-15; See also H. G. Safder, *Shi'an-i-Kashmir*, Ali Mohammad & Sons, Srinagar, 1970, p. 13.

[184] In AD 1872 there was an Shi'a-Sunni strife on the issue of constructing a tomb on the grave of Madin Shah by Shi'ahs which was objected by Sunnis. *Ibid;* See also Walter Lawrence, *op.cit.*, p. 284.

[185] *Tuhfat al Ahbab*, p. 3; Suka, *op.cit*, p. 339; Rafiqi, *op.cit*., p. 216; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 28b.

[186] Mohammad Azam Diddamari, *op.cit*., p. 223; See also Hajji Sayyid Maarkadar Baqir, *Subh-I Tala*, Al- Hayat print, Srinagar, 2007, pp. 37-38; According to the author of *Tuhfat al Ahbab*, he was urged by his preceptor to teach Shi'ism in Kashmir. p. 17.

[187] Mirza Haider Daughlat, *op.cit.*, p. 232; See also *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 78b-79a.

[188] Mohammad Azam, *Tarikh-i-Azami*, pp. 158-161.

[189] Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*., p. 285.

> believed in Sufi pantheism and in the renunciation of this world's vanities. To achieve "*fana"* the merging of the self into the Divine, it was necessary to submit completely to the will of the master, and then to undergo a long course "of service, solitude, meditation, and companionship. The organisation of the Nurbakshiyyah khanqahs was similar to that of the Khanqahs belonging to the other Sufi order; and the *Zikr* ceremonies of the Nurbakshiyyah also resembled those performed by the Sufis belonging to Qadri, Kubravi, and Naqashbandi orders. But their most important ceremonies were performed during the Arabian when new members were initiated into the Nurbakshiyyah mysteries, whole night vigils were maintained, prayers offered, and lectures delivered with quotations from Ghazzali, Bistami, and Junaid. Ghazals too were recited during these days and they had such an effect that the Sufis went in ecstasies and started dancing.

Mirza Haider Daughlat gives a firsthand account of the Nurbakshiyyah in his *Tawarikh-i-Rashidi* as:[190]

> He [Mir Iraqi] introduced a new form of religion which he called Nur Bakshi, which does not conform to the teachings of any of the sects, whether Sunni or Shia belief. [These sectaries], revile the Companion of the Prophet and Ayesha, as do the Shi'as, but contrary to the teachings of these latter they look upon Amir Sayyid Muhammad Nur Baksh as the lord of the age and the promised Mahdi. They do not believe in the saints and holy persons in whom the Shi'as believe but regard all these as [appertaining] Sunnis.

G. M. D Sufi, author of the celebrated work '*Kashir'* highlighted the reconciliatory nature of the Nurbakshiyyah as:[191]

> The Nur Bakshi sect is an attempt to find a via media between the Shi's and the Sunni doctrines. In winter, the Nur Bakshiis pray with folded arms like the Sunnis: in summer with the hands hanging down like the Shi'as. Like the Sunnis they pray together and observe Friday prayers, but they did not wash their feet before praying and only perform mash like the shi'as. The chief cause of quarrel arises in Muharram, as the Nur Bakshi maintain that mourning should take place in the mosque, but the Shi'as do not allow this to be proper.

The following lamentation of the modern historian shows the influence of Shi'ism on them:[192]

> Like the Shiites he [Sayyid Muhammad Nur Bakhsh] believed that the Imam should be immaculate, just, brave, the knower of all things, and a descendent of Ali and Fatima. He enjoined love for the *Ahl-i-Bait* and both he and his followers never ceased emphasizing that their object was to spread the religion of Mohammad and the Twelve Imams. The Nurbakshiyyahs celebrated

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[190] Mirza Haider Daughlat, *op.cit.,* pp. 435-436

[191] G. M. D Sufi, op.cit, pp. 109-114

[192] Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*., p. 284

> Muharram and some of them even wore black dress as an expression of grief for the martyrdom of Husain. They practised Mut'ah reviled Aisha, the wife of the prophet and first three Caliphs…A great change had come over the Nurbakshiyyah beliefs. Under the influence of Persia where Shah Ismail, the founder of the Safavid dynasty (1502-1736) had declared Shi'ism or the doctrine of Twelvers as the state religion, the Nurbakshiyyah took on increasingly the character of the Shi'ite movement. It gradually shed those of its doctrines which were in conflict with Shi'ism, until there was nothing left to distinguish it from the latter.

Keeping in view the above assertions on Shamas al-Din Iraqi, it can be safely concluded that either he preached the Nurbakshiyyah doctrine which was although nearer to the Shi'a doctrine than the Sunni school of thought, or the Shi'a teachings were a contention of the majority of the scholars. Nevertheless, beyond doubt Shamas al-Din Iraqi was known for his religious devotion, scholarly capabilities and the mystic powers. It was due to their personal capabilities, Baba Ali Najar and Baba Ismail Kubravi, became his first disciples and accepted the Shia faith.[193] But the most important success was the conversion of the Soma Chandra (Musa Raina), one of the leading nobles of the time (after the fall of Shams Chak, he became prime minister under Fateh Shah) who facilitated Iraqi with moral and material support and built a magnificent *khanqah* for him at Zadibal Srinagar in 1503-1504.[194] Furthermore, during the period of civil war (among the sons of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin) Iraqi gained further source of strength by including among others, Kazi Chak and Gazi Chak.[195] Some other personalities were Baba Khilil, Baba Talib, and Shaikh Hasan Zadbali. However, the initial success of Iraqi was marred by the rise of Sayyid Muhammad Baihaqi [wazir/prime minister of Muhammad Shah (2nd term1493-1505. He was just 16 yrs old).] the *de facto* ruler, did not endorse the

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[193] *Tuhfat al Ahbab*, p. 64; H. G. Safder, *Shi'an-i-Kashmir*, Ali Mohammad & Sons, Srinagar, 1970, p. 13; see also Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 284; Abdul Majid Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, p. 149; He also offered his house, and large tract of orchard land to his preceptor. *Tuhfat al Ahbab*, p. 33

[194] Loc. Cit.; He also offered his house, and large tract of orchard land to his preceptor. *Tuhfat al Ahbab*, p. 32

[195] Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 287; When Kaji Chak became the wazir of Muhammad Shah (4th time) in 1517 he supported strongly to Iraqi in disseminating his creed. See Syed Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 24a;

philosophy of Iraqi, compelled him to retire Askardu in Ladakh where he successfully established his *maslak* by converting a large number of Buddhists to Islam.[196]

True, prior to the usurpation of Kashmir by Mirza Haider Daughlat in A.D 1540, there existed no animosity between the Sunni and Shi'a Muslims; however, in order to contain the doctrine of *Ithna Ashriyyah* in Kashmir, an attempt was made by many Sufi luminaries- Shaikh Fath-ul-Allahs Kubravi, Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani and Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom.[197] The last one was a staunch Sunni; he waged an incessant ideological battle against the Shi'as and is said to have converted many of them to his faith.[198] Baba Dawood Khaki, a disciple of Sultan-ul-Arifeen, in his *Wirdu'l Muridin,* showed his Pirs attitude towards Rafiz [a term used for Shi'as] as:

اوست سنی پاک اندر مشام پاک او
از نجاست بوی اهل رفض مستقذر شده است

He was a staunch Sunni and with his unpolluted smelling power,
Smelt the pollution of the dissenters [*Rafiz]* here and there.

مصطفی را هم مع الاصحاب دیده بارها
زان سبب در مذهب سنیه راسخ تر شده است

He [Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom] saw the Prophet many a time with all his Companions,
For that reason has become firm in the Sunni Sect hence.

چون مشرف شد بصحبت پاک او در واقعات
لبس لباس صاحبی او همچنین در بر شده است

When he was exalted with the company in dreams,
As if he has put on the dress of a friend it seems,

چون رسول الله گفتا بر نقی آل من است
شکر الله تابع نبی پیدا یکی لوبل شده است

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196 *Tuhfat al Ahbab*, p. 64; See also Rafiqi, *op.cit*., p. 217

197 For details see *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Vol, III, pp. 56-157; Baba Dawood Khaki, *Dasturu's Salakin*, pp. 215-217

198 Baba Dawood Khaki, *Dasturu's Salakin,* pp. 219

Every pious is my progeny the Prophet has said,
Thank God that a fresh fruit created in his garden bed.

عالمان آخرت مر انبیاں را در رہبری
وارثند از او نیز این میراث را در خور شد است

The learned of the hereafter to Prophets in guidance,
Are heirs so he too has inherited the same eminence?

چون بمعنی صاحب آل رسول الله شد
خصم او رافضی وش و خارجی صفت منکر شد است

He became spiritually the Prophet's offspring,
Rafizees and Kharijees have been his enemies, the refusers of this thing.

It was because of his hostilities against the Shi'as Shaikh Hamza was forced by the orthodox Shia ruler Sultan Ghazi Chak (1561-1563) to leave Srinagar. He, therefore, sought refuge in Beerwa Pargana (20 miles away from Srinagar) and returned back only after the death of latter. Other Sunni men of learning were also troubled like Sayyid Hamid Raina was executed; Sayyid Kamaal was poisoned to death. [199]

In A.D 1540, Mirza Haider Daughlat conquered Kashmir, though he allowed Nuzuk Shah to continue as a titular Sultan, and carried on the administration in his name for about ten years (1540-1550). In fact, it was the period when the process of annihilation of the Shia Muslims of Kashmir was initiated. In order to consolidate his position, like the other imperialists, Daughlat devised a method to divide the populace both horizontally and vertically. In this way, he sowed the seeds of division among the Kashmiri Muslim. Being a fanatic and orthodox Sunni,[200] he embarked upon a policy of the ruthless destruction of the Shi'as. A copy of *"Fiqh-i-Ahwat"* of Iraqi was sent to some leading theologians of Hindustan, with a view to seek a verdict on it. They outrightly

[199] Hasan Khoihami, op.cit., Vol., II, p 277; see also Mishkati, *Asrar-ul-Abrar*, f. 138b

[200] All the contemporary chroniclers and the modern writers opine so, for e.g. Sayid Ali, *Tarikh- i-Kashmir*, f. 26a; Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., II, pp. 221-22

repudiated it and wrote on its back a decree (*fatwa*) of remonstrance against its author and his followers as:[201]

> In the name of God the merciful; Oh God! Show us the Truth in its reality, and the False, wherein it is void; also show us things as they are. After perusing this book and weighing its contents it seemed clear (to us) that the author of it was of a false sect, who had gone against the Book and the *Sunna*, and did not belong to any denomination of the people of Truth. His pretension is that God hath commanded him to do away with all differences among the people; (Firstly) in developments and ordinances of the holy law and to make them as they were in his time with neither increase nor diminution; and (secondly) in the fundamental principles among all the peoples of earth (in this) he is certainly lying, and inclined to heresy and schism It is the duty of such as have the power, to obliterate such a book, and a religious necessity for them to stamp out and extirpate this sect; to prohibit persons from following it and acting according to its dogmas…if they repent and abandon the sect, they must be commanded to follow the teaching of Abu Hanifa."

On this pretext, Mirza Haider Dughlat put down the Shiites with a heavy hand; the Khanqah of Iraqi at Zadibal was wrecked and his remains exhumed and burnt with excreta of canines.[202] However, according to Shi'a sources, the followers of Shams al Iraqi had secured the remains secretly and got it buried at Chadoora, which exists there at present in the shape of a spacious shrine.[203] Many other Shia preachers like Shaikh Sangli Rishi of Paraspur, a follower of Baba Ali Najar and a close associate of Shaikh Daniyal, Sufi Davood, a disciple of Baba Ali and Mullah Haji Kateeb were put to sword.[204] In A.D 1549, Shaikh Daniyal, the son of Shams al Iraqi, was brought back from Iskardoo, where he was advocating the Shi'a creed; after one year of imprisonment he was executed on the ground of reviling the first three Caliphs on 24 Safar, A.H 957 (A.D 1550) upon the advice of Qazi Ibrahim and Qazi Habib.[205] The atrocities on the Shi'as by Daughlat can be gauged from his own statement which he wrote in a great wrath and venom:[206]

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201 Mirza Haider Daughlat, *op.cit.*, pp. 435-436

202 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., II, pp. 253-254

203 Aga Syed Bakir Mosvi, *Akhtar-Darakhshan*, Badgam Kashmir, 1971, pp. 16-18.

204 *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, trans., by Akbar Haideri, pp. 108-110; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., II, pp. 253-254; See also Rafiqi, *op.cit.*, p. 219; Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit.*, p. 137; *Shi'an-i-Kashmir*, p. 21.

205 Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 112a.

206 Mirza Haider Daughlat, *op.cit.*, p. 436.

> Thanks be to God that at the present time no one in Kashmir dares openly profess this faith (Nur Bakshi-Shi'as at that time); but all deny it, and give themselves out as good Sunnis. They are aware of my severity towards them, and know that if any one of the sect appears, he will not escape the punishment of death.

This brutal and indiscriminate act of cruelty, barbarity and destruction costs him his position as well as his life when the Kashmiri rivals both Shi'a and Sunnis join hands under the leadership of Idi Raina, Mohammed Kaji, Husain Beg, and Haji Bande and killed him near Khampur fort (Rajouri) in 1561.[207] Soon after his death, the Chak rule was established in Kashmir which lasted upto 1586 when Kashmir became a part of the larger Mughal Empire of Akbar. During the Chak rule the Sunni-Shia rift reached its climax; the Chak Sultans attempted to take revenge of the wrongs committed by the Central Asian invader-Mirza Haider.[208] The Sunni ulema's became the soft target of oppression; Qazi Habib was injured by an ordinary soldier Yusuf Ainder.[209] Daughlat Chak, a wazir of Ismail Shah II ordered the preachers in mosques to recite the khutba in the name of twelve Imams of Shi'as.[210] Similarly, the same order was issued by Yaqub Shah, as per *Tarikh-i-Hasan* and *Tarikh-i-Azami*, Yaqub Shah (1584-86) sent Mulla Ayni to Shaikh Qazi Musa with a massage to enforce the inclusion of the name of 'Hazrat Ali' in azan; when Qazi refused to oblige, was ruthlessly martyred.[211] Sayyid Mansoor was executed by Musa Raina, Khawaja Fazil Shammo was poisoned, and Sayyid Hamid was beheaded at village Hanjivera by Sultan Ghazi Chak (1561-63). Mulla Feroz, Mulla Yusuf Almas, Sayyid Hussain Khawarizami, Sayyid Kamal, Shams-ud-din Alam were put to sword by Husain Chak (1563-70).[212]

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207 Muhammad Azam Diddamari, *Waq'at-i-Kashmiri*, p. 129; See for details Showkat A Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of the Valley of Kashmir under the Mughals*, Unpublished MPhil., Dissertation, G. N. D University, Amritsar, 2012, Chapter II.

208 *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 127b.

209 Sayyid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 28a; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 127a-b; See also Showkat A Dar, op.cit., p. 20; Mohibbul Hasan, , *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 154-55; R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 256-257.

210 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., II, p. 276.

211 *Ibid*, pp. 270-271; *Tarikh-i-Azami*, op.cit., p. 175.

212 *Ibid*, pp. 274-277; Firishta, *Tarikh-i-Firishta*, Vol., iv, p. 297.

It was in this decade of brutal suppression the Sunnis were completely alienated; the Shah Miri nobility was replaced by the powerful Chak clans. These developments prompted the Sunnis to appeal someone powerful to intervene and to redress their grievances, and the choice was none other than Emperor Akbar who was eagerly waiting to encash this opportunity, hence to secure the frontiers forever.[213] Though, the invitation benefited the Sunnis as they were relieved from the oppression of the Shi'a rule, but in the long run, hoisting of the Mughal flag on the soil of Kashmir initiates a new prognosis of subjugation to which the Kashmiri's (irrespective of the faith) are opposed nowadays.

Soon after the Mughal annexation of Kashmir in 1586, the Chaks (Shi'as) were exterminated root and branch and the process started with Qasim Khan Mir Bahr. The Shi'a Muslims were either massacred or driven away towards the hills. [214] The antagonism did not die down even when the people lost their independence or when there common enemy was ruling by dividing them and targeting them jointly. The Sunnis, who faced the heat during the reign of Chaks, now did not want to miss an opportunity to accuse the Shia's of blasphemies and profanities. Jamia Masjid was consumed in fire during the reign of Emperor Jahangir in A.D 1622, when a part of Srinagar was devastated by fire; Malik Haider and Malik Naji-the Shi'as were accused of having engineered the plan of burning of the said Mosque. Emperor Jahangir then ordered Haider Malik to rebuild the Mosque from his own purse.[215]

During the Governorship of Zafar Khan, a quarrel started over a mere trifle at *Baghat-i-Maisuma* in A.D 1635, where the people of both the faiths (Shi'a and Sunnis) were relishing mulberries. This grew into a communal riot, during which the habitation of the Shias at Zadibal and Hasanabad were destroyed.[216] Khwaja Mahmood Khwand (preceptor of Jahan Ara Begum) a prominent Naqashbandi saint, succeeded in controlling the arson, demanded the execution of the culprits. However, the government and the administration remained mute spectators; thus he [Khwaja] left the city in protest.[217]

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[213] For annexation of Kashmir by Emperor Akbar, see A M Matoo, *op.cit*, pp. 3-11; P. N. K. Bamzai, op.cit., pp. 385-392; Showkat A Dar, *op.cit*, pp.15-22.

[214] See Chapter II,

[215] Hasan Khoihami, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol., II, p. 480.

[216] *Ibid*, p. 502.

[217] Hasan Khoihami, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol., II, pp. 502-503; A M Matoo, *op.cit*, pp. 150-151.

The fourth riot of the Mughal period occurred during the governorship of Ibrahim Khan. A conflict arose between the two sects, due to a quarrel over the debt of a Shia (Abd al' Shakoor) upon a Sunni (merchant) at Hasanabad.[218] The Sunni filed a suit in the court of Qazi (Yusuf) alleged that the Shia had reviling the first three Caliphs (*sab-i-Suhaba*), and demanded his immediate execution. The governor, wanted to settle the matter through the good office of Mulla Tahir Mufti (Sunni), but Qazi Yusuf provoked the people which resulted in loot, arson and annihilation on either side. A part of Hasanabad was burnt into ashes. A Shia Scholar, Shaikh Qasim was beaten to death, Mulla Tahir Mufti was condemned and his house was burnt. Governor Ibrahim Khan sent his son Fida Khan to put down the riots and brought the situation under control by arresting the chief Qazi. But when the people came to know this, they gave stiff resistance, Fida Khan opened fire in which more than forty people were killed, and ultimately the culprits were arrested.[219]

The history of Kashmir is plagued with sectarian clashes between these two communities; even the tussle increased during the times of the later Mughals- Inayatullah Khan, Abdulla Khan and Bharkat Khan. During the governorship of Momin Khan, historian Hasan Shah, has described the atrocities inflicted on Shi'as in the following words:

> The rioters set fire to the houses from all sides, in which both young and old, men and women, and many perished besides loot and arson, shameful acts and heinous crimes were committed by the rioters. At Zadibal, when women and children had taken refuge in the shrine of Mir Shams al Din Iraqi, the rioters set fire to the shrine and burnt down alive, innocent ladies and children. Due to this calamity the Muslims (Shi'as) not only lost their property but also their kith and kin.[220]

To conclude, it becomes clear from the above discussion that the Shi'as were present prior to the arrival of Shams-ud-din Iraqi, though, being numerically and politically unimportant. However, with the arrival of Shams al-Din Iraqi, a disciple of Sayyid

218 Hasan Khoihami, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol., II, pp. 502-503; A M Matoo, *op.cit*, pp. 150-151.

219 Hasan Khoihami, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, See also Muhammad-ud-din Fauq, *Mukamal Tawaikh-i-Kashmir*, (Urdu), pp. 570-571; R. K Parmu, *op.cit*, p. 326.

220 Hasan Khoihami, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol., II, pp. 480-481.

Mohammad Nurbaksh and a founder of Nurbakshi/Shi'a faith in Kashmir, the number of the Shi'as gradually increased. Due to his piety, divinity and scholarship, he was able to win many influential personalities towards Nurbakshiyyah faith. Moreover, the two main schools of thought remained apprehensive of each other in Kashmir as was the case with the rest of the world. The relations between them could be gauged from the statement of Walter Lawrence that "there is only one ziarat of Alam Sahib in the Narwara Mohalla of Srinagar where Sunnis and Shi'as meet. Elsewhere their places of religion are wholly distinct. Zadibal and Hassanabad in Srinagar, and Saidpura and Ahmadpura in the Kamraj district contain the chief shrines of the Shiahs but no Sunni would ever go to these places."[221]

IV. HINDU-MUSLIM INTERACTIONS:

Hazrati Admas Zai Zi Gabr
Ek rot Awrien Bak Rot Kabr

English translation:

Prophet Adam had two sons
One chose 'cremation' and the other 'grave'.

The above mentioned well-known adage of Kashmiri points to the existence of brotherly feelings of the two principle communities. However, it does not in any way mean that they considered each other 'blood brothers'. Instances are not wanting to show that the inter-communal relations at certain times do reach at lowest ebb, but very often, they live in peace, exchange ideas and tolerate each other's religious beliefs and practices all through their chequered history.

The evidence of *Mleccha*, *Turushkas* (terms used for the Muslims), as already somewhere mentioned long before the much debated conversion of the Buddhist ruler (Rinchana), settled in Kashmir, and were employed in the armies of local rajas (Ananta A. D1020-1063; Harsha A.D 1089-1101; Bisksacara A.D 1120-21; and Jayasimha A.D 1128-1149). Subsequently, a stream of Persian and Central Asian *da'is* (Muslim missionaries) entered Kashmir and preached the doctrinal principles of Islam there. Here,

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[221] Walter Lawrence, *op.cit.*, p. 285

it is worth noting that their activities initially went more or less unnoticed because of the traditional hospitality of the Kashmiri Brahamans and because of the peaceful, spontaneous and gradual process of mental and behavioural transformation by the *da'is*. But once Rinchana, a Buddhist fugitive from Ladakh and the ruler of Kashmir, embraced Islam in the hands of Sayyid Sharaf-ud-din Abdul Rehman Bulbul Shah followed the large number of people, it aroused enmity among the fellow Brahmans 'who found their traditional values being upset and their basic assumption being challenged".[222] The contemporary Sanskrit scholar narrated it as, "the kingdom of Kashmira was polluted by the evil practice of the *Mlecchas* (Muslims)" and "as the wind destroys the trees and the locusts the *shali* crop, and so did the *Yavanas* (outsiders) destroy the usage of Kashmira."[223] However, no communal clash occurred in Kashmir during the Sultanate period except in the reign of Hasan Shah. Srivara writes, "The faces of the *Mlecchas* (Muslims) became dark and went bent down as if at the sight of that higher-white washed temple of Ganesha".[224]

It is interesting to note that before the mass conversion to Islam in Kashmir, intermarriages between Hindus and Muslims were not inconceivable, as we find Muslim rulers having Hindu wives.[225] Nevertheless, the trend changed when Hindu society was survived by the Brahmans only. However, true, the intermarriage between them was quite common in the regions of Rajouri, Bhimber, Ladakh and Baltistan even during the Mughal rule.[226] Strange enough, the evil practice of Sati was quite common among both the communities, despite of discouragement by Sultan Sikandar,[227] Emperor Jahangir and

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[222] Mohibbul Hasan, *op. cit*., p. 233

[223] Jonaraja, *op.cit.*, pp. 57-59

[224] Srivara, *op.cit*, Eng. trans., J. C. Dutt, Vol., III, p. 227

[225] Jonaraja, *op.cit.*, pp.27, 54; Shanker Devi, sister of Raja Bahadur of Kishtawar was married with last independent Sultan of Kashmir. Srivara, *op.cit*, p. 99

[226] *Ain*, *op.cit*, III, p, 752; Abdul Hamad Lahori, *Badshanama*, Vol., I, (ed.) by Maulvi Kabir-ud-Din Ahmad and Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1867, pp. 57-58. They (Muslims of Rajouri) ally themselves with Hindus and both give and take girls. Taking them is good but giving them, God forbid." Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i- Jahangiri, Vol., II, p. 134*

[227] M. Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p. 225

Shah Jahan[228]. Eventually it was Alamgir Aurangzeb who firmly prescribed the practice and warned the officials to face dire consequences if sati was resorted to with their connivance or failure.[229]

With the Mughal ascendancy in Kashmir, the Pandits were the beneficiaries of the changing dispensation; there was thus a little possibility of their being harassed by their counterparts. They lived peacefully with each other and it was difficult to distinguish on the basis of costume, the point substantiated by Emperor Jahangir, as there was minimal difference between the Hindus and the Muslims. Both wore the similar style of dress, shave their heads and put on round turbans.[230] The people look up the Hindus Sadhus and Muslim saints with great reverence, and after the death of a saint, their shrines became regular centres of pilgrimage and in order to obtain spiritual blessings and to have their wishes and wows fulfilled the people (Muslims and Hindus) visited in procession (*naful*).[231] This is why the Kashmiris are labelled as saint worshippers (*pir-parast*).[232] Moreover, the Fairs and festivals like Eid, Shab-i-Barat, Nouroz, Diwali, Shivaratri (herat), Vyath Truwah, Caitra, Nagayatra and Dussehra were celebrated with great spectacle.[233] From the Sanskrit and the Persian chronicles, it becomes clear that the Muslims participated in Hindu festivals and vice versa, though, of course, not with a religious motive but for the sake of enjoyment and leisure.[234] True, not only the people but the rulers of the land starting from Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin down to the Mughal Emperor Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, all customarily participated in the Hindu fairs

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[228] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i- Jahangiri, Vol., II, p. 134; Ain, op.cit,* III, p, 752; Abdul Hamad Lahori, *Badshanama*, Vol. I, (ed.) by Maulvi Kabir-ud-Din Ahmad and Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1867, pp. 57-58

[229] G. T. Vigne, *Travels*, Vol., II, p. 151; See also Moor craft and Trebeck, *Travels in Hindustan*, Vol., II, p. 131

[230] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol., II, Eng., trans., Alexander Rogers, and (ed.), Henry Beveridge, pp. 149-150.

[231] The shrines of Resmol Saheb, Batmaloo Saheb, Kama Saheb, Jala Saheb, Reshi pir of Alai Kadal, Mali Shah of village Devsar, and Mansha Saheb is visited by both Hindus and Muslims. See Rattan Lal Hangloo, *"Kashmiriyat: The Voice of the Past Misconstrued"* in '*The Parchment of Kashmir'* ed. Nyla Ali Khan, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012, pp. 37–68.

[232] Lawrence, *op.cit*, pp 286

[233] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol., II, pp. 167-168; P. N. K Bamzai, *op.cit.*, p. 525

[234] Suka, *op.cit.*, p. 393; Baharistan-i-Shahi, f. 33b

and festivals. Emperor Akbar on his second visit to Kashmir on October 7^{th}, 1592 celebrated *Dewali* and ordered that the boats of Jhelum, the banks of the river and the roofs of the houses in Srinagar should be illuminated with lamps.[235] His successor, Emperor Jahangir was besotted of Kashmir like his father; he took keen interest in the Hindu festivals and about the celebration of Vyath Truwah festival. He writes:[236]

> "On the night of Thursday, the 13th, the Kashmiris had lined with lamps on both the sides of the Bihat (Jhelum). It is an ancient custom that every year on this day everyone, weather rich or poor, whoever has a house on the bank of river, should light lamps as on the Shabb-i-Barat. I asked the Brahmans the reason of this, and they said that on this day the fountain head of the Jhelum river was discovered and the custom has came down from old days, that on this day must take place the feast of the Viith Truwah. …Undoubtedly, the lamp lighting was good. I sat in a boat and went around to see it."

Astonishing though, it seems that there is no recorded history of serious group clashes between the Hindu and the Muslims in Kashmir in the remote past but during the later Mughals there were sporadic clashes between them. It was a period when the affairs at the Mughal court at Delhi were still in the fluid condition, the iniquitous people in Kashmir always attempted to fish in the troubled water and made of it whatever they could; one among those people was Mulla Abdul Nabi alias Muhta Khan, who was appointed as Shaikh-ul-Islam during the governorship of Inayat-ul-lah, who imposed following callous penalties on the Kashmiri Pandits:[237]

- Prohibition of riding on horses in the market places;
- Ban on the use of turban;
- Ban on the use of shoes;
- Children of the Pandits were prohibited from attending *Pathshalas*;
- Imposition of Jaziya.

The reaction on the part of the Pandits was to lead a revolt against Muhta Khan; it resulted in loot and destruction on either side. However, the Shi'as joined their hands

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[235] *Akbar Nama, op.cit*, III, p. 958

[236] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* Vol., II, pp. 167-168

[237] Jia Lal Kilam, *A History of Kashmiri Pandits*, pp. 117-124; P. N. K Bamzai, *op.cit.*, p. 420

with the Pandits and assisted them in their struggle against the Sunnis.[238] Ghulam-Muhi-ud-Din, the author of *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*, states that the Muslims indiscriminately set the houses of the Hindus on fire and indulged in large-scale massacre.[239] Finally when Abdul Samad Khan replaced Inayat-ul-lah as governor of Kashmir, justice was once again resorted in the land. He detained all those involved in creating chaos and confusion in Kashmir and punished them as per the law. Furthermore, in order to win the support, compensation was given to all those who had suffered in the communal clashes.[240] Barring those rare instances of riots, like the one instigated by Khwaja Mam in the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan and the other during the reign of the later Mughals, the relation between the Hindus and Muslims during the period under study remained cordial, for they never hesitated in living together in peaceful co-existence. However, the Muslims were divided so sharply within themselves into the two schools of thought (Sunni'ism-Shi'ism) that the Pandits were considered less baneful and less contradictory. The height of schism can be viewed from the fact that, though both (Sunni and Shi'a) considered themselves true Muslims, they did not intermarry; did not eat the food prepared in the house of the other. The cause behind this, could be perhaps that both viewed each other as apostates or even as 'enemies' of Islam.[241]

If one looks at the spirit of amity and harmony among the Hindus and the Muslims of Kashmir, the credit goes to both the Hindu yogis and the Muslim mystics [native (Rishis) and non-natives (Central Asian da'is)], who prepared the ground for tolerance based on stronger ties of brotherhood which resulted in the establishment of a composite culture. The first poetess of Kashmiri language Lalleswari, popularly known as Lal Ded in her *Vaakhs* pointed the essence of absolute truth of all the religions,

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238 Pir Ghulam Nabi Shah, *Wajeez-ul-Tawarikh*, trans., M. Y. Lone, pp. 135-136; P. N. K Bazaz, *op.cit*, pp. 75-76

239 Ghulam-Muhy-ud-Din, *Futuhat-Namah-i-Samadi*, Mss., f.168

240 *Ibid,* f. 172

241 Interview with Mohd Sulatan Pandit, Shia, retired govt., employee, age 62 years, resident of, Watergam, Baramulla, on 12-05-2015; Naweed Ahmad Parrey, Sunni, Teacher, Vizer Baramulla, 26 years, on 12-05-2015; Ghulam Qadir, Shia, farmer, Traigam Kupwara, 48 yrs, 2-07-2015; Mohd Yunus Alahi, Shia, Kashmir University Student, Leh, 25 years, on 7-11-2015; Ghulam Hasan Tantary, Sunni, Treasury officer, Ladakh, 42 years, on 7-11-2015

removing the difference between man and man on the basis of religion. She, in one of her *Vaakh* (aphorism), says:[242]

> *Shiv chuui thali thali rozan*
> *Mo zan Bhatta ta Musalman,*
> *Trukai chuk ta paan panun parzan,*
> *Soy chay Sahibas saet zani zan.*

English Translation:

> The Divine verily pervades everything here, don't you differentiate between a Hindu and a Muslim, if thou art intelligent recognises own self; that is the true acquaintance with Divine.

Lala was one of those noble figures who laid stress on the need to go inwards and realize the self, and to exhort humanity to follow the higher ideals and shun the frivolities of mortal essence. She was yearning for egalitarian society where the difference of caste and creed, birth and position would be meaningless. Lala was followed by Nund Rishi, the founder of Rishi order, a chief disciple of Baba Nasir-ud-din, who raised his voice against the snares of false prophets; he believed in complete harmony among all religions and preached place and understanding in them. Like Lala, Nund Rishi was critical of formal religion, full of rituals. He severely questioned the authority of so called 'religious earthly divines-Brahman and Mullah'. He yearned for an egalitarian society based on morality rather than material; he advocated his strong desire for religious plurality, tolerance and respect for each other in one of the *Shrukh* as:[243]

> *Akis maalis maji hundyan*
> *Timan duy traavith ta kyaye*
> *Musalmaanan kyaav Hendyan*
> *Kar bandan tosh Khoday*

English Translation:

> We belong to the same parents, then why this difference? Let Hindus and Muslims worship God alone; we came to this World like partners, we should have shared our joys and sorrows together.

[242] P. N. K Bamzai, *op.cit.*, p. 554

[243] Neerja Matoo, *Syncretric tradition and the creative life*, in '*The Parchment of Kashmir*' ed. Nyla Ali Khan, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012, pp. 87-97

Here are some verses of one of the most reputed and the best known of the modern poets of Valley, Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor, in which the syncretic diction is pervasive and who transcends the compartmentalized religious beliefs:

> Who is the friend and who for of your (native land)?
> Let you among yourself thoughtfully make out
> The kind and stock of all the Kashmiris is one
> Let you mix milk and sugar once again
> Hindus will keep the helm and Muslims ply the oats
> Let you together row (ashore) the boat of this country.

Similarly, Hardi Rishi, a sixteenth century Rishi, condemned intolerance and is reported to have said "we are not bigots and we do not cause anyone".[244] Aziz Darvesh, a mystic of nineteenth century, echoes the same sentiments as:[245]

> *Ath kadalas karu zolaano*
> *Ami apor chhuy "fana filah"*
> *Na chhu Hyund tay na Musalmano*
> *Bozu jano suy soz jaan*

English Translation:

> Tie yourself with chains to this bridge, across it you'll find annihilation in the divine. Where there is neither Hindu nor Muslim, listen to that song so sweet, Oh do!

It was due to the progressive and secular thinking of these piety people, who cast off the trammels of inequality and blood ties; contributed in an ineffable sense the spirit of humanism, understanding, multiculturalism and togetherness; in short, what in today's phraseology is known as Kashmiriyat. [246] They acknowledged the essential oneness of all religious philosophies, denounced dogmatic principles and narrow mindedness. They also

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[244] A. Q. Rafiqi, *Impact of Sufism in Kashmir,* in Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri, ed., *The Islamic Path, Sufism, Politics, & Society in India,* Rainbow Publishers, 2006, pp. 151-161

[245] Neerja Matoo, *Syncretric tradition and the creative life,* in '*The Parchment of Kashmir'* ed. Nyla Ali Khan, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012, pp. 87-97. See also Jaya Lal Kaul, trans., and Neerja Mattoo, rev. ed., *Kashmiri Lyrics,* Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 2008, p. 8

[246] Prof. Mohammad Ishaq Khan believes that Kashmiriyat is an outcome of the mutual adaptation of the various pre-Islamic religious traditions and the great tradition of Islam. M. I. Khan, *The Rishi Tradition and the Construction of Kashmiriyat*, in *Lived Islam in South Asia,* ed. Imtiyaz Ahmad and Helmut Reifeld, Social Science Press, New Delhi, 2004, pp. 28–30. See also T. N. Madan, *Kashmir, Kashmiris and Kashmiriyat-An Introductory Essay*, in *The Valley of Kashmir: Making and Unmaking of Composite Culture*, ed., Aparna Rao, Manohar Publishers, Delhi, 2008, pp. 1–28.

became important agents in the process of conversion to Islam. Moulana Altaf Husain Hali has beautifully expressed the role played by Sufi masters, as:

Yeh Phela Sabak tha Kitab-i-Huda ka
Ke Hae Sari Makhluq Khumba Khuda Ka

V. POSITION OF WOMEN

In approaching this subject, let us first realise that the construction of the women, her identity and position in the historiography, has continually been revised, but the assumption about her remained largely unchanged. Until recent times, the writing of her history has suffered in several ways because of its concentration on the rise and fall of dynasties, political institutions and high culture. With such a result the position of Women, her remarkable services rendered in various vocations of life remained virtually invisible. However, notwithstanding the fact that the growing knowledge on this gender and the gradual awareness has brought a need for studying women's status in society, yet it has not been contextualized at the regional level. Without the study of the women, no study of a society can be complete. A woman is responsible for bringing up the human civilization and might be described as an adult female of the human race. She, according to Islam, represents 'the half of mankind' and to neglect them is like to neglect the half of mankind.[247]

In Kashmir, as in other parts of the World, the traditional social order was dominated by the patriarchal, social, cultural, economic, political and religious system based on the foundation that the family line runs through a male. Thus women were relegated to subordinate position. She had not been enjoying the name, position and status as enjoyed by man. The birth of a son was celebrated with pomp and show;[248] while the birth of a daughter was considered inauspicious and disappointing.[249] In the *Kathasaritsagar* of Somadeva (composed in 11th century), we find that a son was preferred to a daughter and if a couple did not get a son, they performed hard penances to

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[247] For details see Abu Dawud, *Kitab al- Tarah* (introduction)

[248] The Sultans of Kashmir spent large amount to celebrate the birth of their sons. Srivara, *op.cit.*, pp, 225-226, 230, 232-34; Farooq Fayaz, *Folklore History of Kashmir*, p. 107

[249] For details see Farooq Fayaz, *Folklore History of Kashmir*, p. 107

that end.[250] Another instance of this kind is found in *Kathasaritsagar,* when the king Hemaprabha was asked by his wife, the cause of his grievance, he told her that although he had every kind of wealth but the absence of a son was the thing that troubled him.[251] The degree of bias is also reflected in the folk literature which shows that son was considered more important than the daughter.[252] This is also substantiated and buttressed by the political chronicles of the period.[253] The cause for this attitude could have been the difficulty of choosing a suitable match, economic dependency attitude of the mother-in-laws and *Jahaz* (dowry). Though the people in Kashmir retained the bias between the sexes it did not lead to inhuman practice of infanticide.

So far the marriageable age of women was concerned, a perusal of *Rajatarangini* generally leaves an impression that pre-puberty marriage was not in vogue in ancient Kashmir. Furthermore, a story related by Ksemendra in the *Desopandesa* may indicate that the girls were married at mature age.[254] However, during the period under study, the author of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* refers that child marriage was a common feature in both the communities in all regions of the society.[255] It is interesting to note that it was so because the women were made a victim to the lust of men folk. The beauty of the Kashmiri girls had been proverbial and as per Bernier "it is from this country (Kashmir) that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol selects wives or concubines that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine

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250 Saroj Gulati, *Women and Society in the 11th and 12th centuries*, Chanakya Publishers, Delhi, 1958, pp. 18-19

251 *Ibid*, pp. 19-20

252 Moti Lai Saqi, *Keshir Luke Beth,* Vol., 4, p.39, Vol., 3, pp. 26-27; The saint scholar of Kashmir Shaikh Nur-ud-din Noorani says that:-

A daughter is what an axe is to Deodar

It cuts and divides it into logs;

A son proves to be what a horse's kid is

That you may ride and use it as you please

253 The chronicles also do make mention of the celebrations and festivity on the birth of male child. Cf. Srivara, *Jaina Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., pp. 225; see also Abdul Qaiyum Rafiqi, Presidential address, Indian History Congress, 47th session, Srinagar, 1986, pp. 237-238

254 Cf. S. C. Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 134

255 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p. 371

Mangols."[256] It is equally important that during this period Kashmiri women were exposed to the outer world and in the course of time resulted in shameful and nefarious practice of trafficking in women and white slave trade.[257] One of modern scholars of Kashmir, Prem Nath Bazaz aptly says, "It was a sin to have a virgin of marriageable age in house"[258]The custom of marrying at the early age continued during the rule of Afghans who were more rapacious and cruel. Under their rule, no beautiful women could pass through the streets unmolested; to save their honour, the only option was to marry them as early as possible.[259] Doubtless, when the custom of marrying daughters at the early age continued and became a common practice, then parental control over the fate of their daughters could have been assumed a matter of greater significance.

As far as the marriage negotiations were concerned it was more a matter of family rather than a choice of the couple. According to the Prophet's *hadith*, the women's consent is necessary and her parents can't impose on her to marry anyone whom she does not like to marry. Contrary to this in Kashmir, as like the other parts of the Muslim countries, marrying couple have no voice in it, the parents of the bride and bridegroom are the final authority to choose the match. Same practice was in operation among the Kashmiri Pandits.[260] Among the Muslims, no doubt, before *Nikah* (marriage agreement) the consent of both the couple is sought but it was more or less an act of formality rather than enacting the conviction.[261] The author of *Muslim Rule in Kashmir* says that the Pandits of Kashmir also performed a sort of *Nikah* called *Lagana Chirika* similar to the *Nikah-Namah* of the Muslims.[262] The imposition from the parental side would have in all probability proved tragic. Laleshwari (Lal Ded) a great Shaivite women mystic was

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[256] Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire, A. D. 1656-1668*, pp. 404-405

[257] *Ibid*; Munucci, *Stor De Mogor*, Vol., II, p. 328

[258] Prem Nath Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, pp. 220-221

[259] Pandit Ramjoo Dhar, *Kifiat-i-Intizam-Mulk-i-Kashmir*, f. 4; Pandit Anand Koul, *The Kashmiri Pandits*, p. 33; Moorcroft, *BURP*- 264, pp. 88-89

[260] See Privratsky, Bruce.G, *Muslim Turkistan: Kazak Religion and Collective Memory*, Curzon Press, 2001, pp. 21-45; Dr. Mohamed Fathi Osman, *Muslim Women: The Family and the Society*, p. 6

[261] The silence of a decent girl symbolises her approval for marriage. Farooq Fayaz, *Folklore History of Kashmir*, pp. 110-111

[262] R. K. Parmu, *op.cit*, p. 484.

married without her consent despite she developed as a saintly character in her childhood. Habba Khatoon (Zoon) born in a fairly well-to-do family and a great favourite of her father was married to a typical bumpkin (before being married to Sultan Yusuf Shah Chak) who resented her being educated and refined. [263] These instances show that the marriages arranged by parents without taking their daughters in confidence would have often proved disastrous.

So far as the custom of dowry (*Jahaz*) was concerned; its presence can't be doubted. We do get reference in the Mulla Ali Raina's, *Tazkirat-ul-Arifin* that the parents of the daughters were forced to pay dowry. Even the custodian of the treasury of Khanqah of Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom in order to pay dowry of his daughter, committed a very huge embezzlement.[264] Furthermore, in order to get *najat* from this great calamity (*Mahimm-i-Azim*), the common people would flock to the *khanqahs* for help, as is the habit even now.[265] Owing to the paucity of the source material, one cannot conclude with authority that how far it was followed in Kashmir during the period under study. After the marriage, women lived in joint family under the general control of her elders, especially mother-in-law. She was subjected to large number of restrictions; always taunted, teased and badly treated by both mother-in-law (*Haash)* and sister-in-law (*Zaam)*. Furthermore, the in-laws always kept her under psychological strain and if she succeeded in tackling the difficulties of the joint family she was respected well as a member. The cruel attitude of the mother-in-law (*Haash)* towards the bride is vividly reflected in the following saying of the victimised Laleshwari, a great Shaivite women mystic as: "When they (in-laws) slaughter a big sheep or tender lamb, it is all the same for me; Lalla has always *nal-wath* (stone) to her share." [266] This is an allusion to the belief that when she eats dinner along with other family members, her mother-in-law (*Haash)* often used to put a stone in

[263] For details see P.N. Bazaz, *Daughters of the Vitasta*, Gulshan Books, Srinagar, 1959, pp. 153-160.

[264] Mulla Ali Raina's, *Tazkirat-ul-Arifin,* f. 16ab; See for details Mohammad Ashraf, *Some Aspects of the Socio-Economic and Cultural Life of the Kashmir Under the Sultans*, Unpublished Ph. D thesis, KU, Srinagar, 1982, Chapter II.

[265] *Ibid,* f. 16ab.

[266] Sir Carnac Temple, *The World Of Lalla*, the Prophetess, intro., p. 7; See also Jayalal Kaul: *Lal Ded*, Sahitya Academy, New Delhi, 1973, pp.97-100.

the plate and cover it with rice, to make her small meal look like a big heap. And it is believed that she never complained to this ruthless act of her mother-in-law.

The education was imparted to the Muslims in *Maktabs*, usually attached with mosques, imparting elementary education, particularly teaching the reading and recitation of the Holy Quran and subsisting mostly on local charity, by the Moulvi's whereas, the Hindu girls were taught at *Pathshalas* by the Pandits. It is important to mention here that there were no separate schools for educating women in Kashmir. The *Maktabs* were opened in every village during the Sultanate era by the efforts of Sultan Shihab al-Din, Sultan Qutub al- Din, Sultan Zain al Abidin, Mir Shamas al- Din- Iraqi, Shaikh Hamzah Makhdum and Mirza Haidar Daughlat; and the aim was to inculcate Islamic ideals through the teaching of Quran and Hadith.[267] But it seems that Education was widespread among only the ladies of upper strata of society who enjoyed the privilege of an aristocratic society. For instance, Queen Sura, mother of Sultan Sikander, Gul Khatoon, mother of Hasan Shah, Hyat Khatoon and Bhema Khatun, the queens of Hasan Shah, Sheha, the wife of Malik Ahmad, were prominent.[268] While as the women from the lower strata faced the hard life. They neither had the time nor money to receive proper education. Although, the life of Habba Khatoon (Zoon) shows that opportunities were not wanting even for the peasant girls to acquire knowledge.[269]

The women of the higher strata played an important role, made elaborate arrangements for the dissemination of knowledge in the country (Kashmir) and established *madrasas*. For instance, Gul Khatoon, mother of Hasan Shah, built a magnificent building (*madrasa)* in the vicinity of Srinagar, says Srivara,:[270] and the beloved queen of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin gave away her valuable necklace for the promotion of education. Bibi Saleha (Saleha Moj) sold her *mahr* for the reconstruction of Khanqah Mullah at Srinagar.[271] Similarly, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's queen sold her *mahr*

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[267] See Rafi al- Din Ahmad, *Nawadir al Akhbar*, f. 29b; *Dustur ul- Salikin*, Vol., II, pp. 69-75; *Nur Nama*, 415a-419b; Haider Malik, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, pp. 49-50

[268] Sayid Ali, *op.cit*, f. 25

[269] P. N. K Bamazi, *op.cit*., Vol., II, p. 519; Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, op. cit., p. 227; Nizam-ud-din Wani, *Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 207

[270] Srivara, *op.cit.*, p. 225

[271] Sayid Ali, *op.cit*, f. 25a;

in order to purchase a land for graveyard which was named as *Mazari Shihab-ud-Din,* after the name of a great Sufi saint of Kashmir.[272] From these instances, it becomes clear that *mahr* was paid to Muslim women and they were having the right to use it according to their own choice. Interestingly, a great change says Nizami,[273] was witnessed in the educational institutions during the reign of Emperor Akbar in India but so far as in Kashmir, the entire Mughal rule is devoid of any such development and it seems from the plethora of surveyed literature that no such initiative was taken. And in total contrast to the Sultanate era, no women surfaced in Kashmir and how could it be, when the great desire and wantonness were common vices of the Mughal nobility and the maintenance of concubines and maidens of superb beauty were appointed as maids in the imperial household. Instead of being a matter of ignominy, it was considered as an indicator of one's affluence.

True, Rupa Bhawani, a disciple of Shah Sadi Qalander was a woman mystic of the time and few other ladies of Sufis took responsibility of maintaining the *khanqahs* after the death of their husbands. For example, after the death of Khwaja Moinuddin Naqashbandi, on 5th of *Muharam,* 1085 A.H/ 1674-1675, her Begum managed the *khanqah* efficiently and surpassed even in administration.[274] But these instances can be seen as a love for the representatives of mystical Islam by Mughals. Emperor Akbar, like his grandfather Zahirauddin Mohammad Babur, believed deeply in mystic *dervishes,* who wrote the Persian quatrain as:[275]

> Even though I do not belong to the dervishes,
> Yet, I believe with heart and soul in the dervishes,
> Say not that the rank of the king is far from that of dervish
> I'm a king, but I'm the slave of the dervish.

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272 Sayid Ali, *op.cit* , f. 18a

273 See K. A. Nizami, Development of Muslim Educational System in medieval India, Islam Culture, Vol., LXX, No. 4, Oct, 1996, pp. 27-51

274 *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* Urdu trans., Shams-ud-Din Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 281-82; Majid Matoo op.cit, p. 140

275 See Annemarie Schimmel, *Babur Padishan the Poet, with an account of the Poetical talent in his family,* IC, XXXIV, 1960; See also Annemarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent,* 1980, pp. 79-80

The general womenfolk worked in the fields, gardens, industries and crafts and assisted their husbands in all pursuits of life, besides attending to their domestic chores. They did not wear purdah and moved freely in the streets without wearing drawers to cover their legs. [276] Only women belonging to aristocracy and the Ulema families observed *Purdah* in strict sense.[277] They lived in seclusion in their houses and hardly had any contact with the women of lower class.[278] Similarly, the privileged Hindu women were also adhered to Purdah. As per A. L. Basham, "it was done more under the aristocratic craze than by any religious merit or necessity".[279] Whereas the common Hindu wives did not use any kind of veil at home or outside in order to conceal their charm.[280] Interestingly enough, the leading Sufi scholar of sixteenth century, Kashmir Baba Dawood Khaki, while quoting Imam Abu Hanifa justifies the association of alien women with a na-*maharam*-man, who is pious and God fearing but it is absolutely unlawful for a women to go to a *muharam* who is scoundrel and where women's chastity is at stake.[281]

The family life, at least of the upper strata of Kashmiri society, was polygamous. In the verses of the Surah Nisa of the Glorious Quran, polygamy has been permitted but with a condition to satisfy the needs and requirements of all wives on equal basis. As the Glorious Quran says, "Marry women of your choice, two, or three, or four; but if ye fear that ye shall not be able to deal justly (with them), then only marry one."[282] In Kashmir,

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276 R.K. Parmu, op. cit., pp. 321-22; See also *Various Trades In Kashmir*, op.cit., 1708-1781

277 Bernier, *Travels*, pp. 403-404; Forester, *From Bengal To England*, pp. 3, 4, 24; Peer Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Hassan,* vol., II, p. 227; Purdah was so strictly followed that almost no upper class woman can be ever seen in the streets. See for details James Milne, *The Road to Kashmir*, pp. 125-126; Tyndale Bisco, *op.cit*, pp. l30-131. For the role of women in the arts and crafts, See Sulakan and Showkat Ahmad Dar, *Shawl Industry in Kashmir Under the Mughals-A Critical note*, Journal of Language and Culture, Vol., 5(4), Nov., 2014, pp. 54-58 www.academicjournals.org/JLC

278 See For details Farooq Ahmad Bhat, *History and Culture of Medieval Kashmir, as reflected in Folk Lore of Kashmir,* M.Phil., Thesis, University of Kashmir, pp.90-95. According to M. Hasan, the upper class women's belong to the families of Qazi, Mullah, Sheikh and Pirzada, Wani and Dhar. (pp. 217-219)

279 A. L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* ,London, 1954 pp. 178-179; see also Marry, E. R. Mortin, *Women in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1964, pp. 23-34

280 Vigne, *Travels*, Vol., II, p. 143; Moorcraft, *Travels,* Vol., II, p. 131

281 Baba Dawood Khaki, *Dasturu's Salikin*, Urdu trans, Vol., I, p. 430

282 *Al-Qur'an*, English Trans., Abdullah Yusuf Ali, IV:3

we have plenty of examples when the kings had their seraglio full of queens and concubines. Most of the Sultans had more than one wives but none among them exceeded four, except Sultan Haider Shah (1470-72) and Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-1484). According to M. Hasan, they spent most of his time in wine cups and in the society of women and musicians.[283] Shah Sahab a saint had three wives.[284] The Practice of polygamy was however not practised very often by the common people. Even the well off Zamindars did not usually marry more than one woman, says Bernier who visited Kashmir in the company of Alamgir Aurangzeb.[285] They may, however, go for remarriage only after the death of their first wife or when had lost all hopes of having a child from the first.[286] The practice of polygamy always created domestic unhappiness and the co-wives rivalled each other and used all means to get rid of co-wife; to blame on the co-wife, they even did not hesitate from killing their own sons.[287] Polyandry was unknown in Valley of Kashmir, while it was quite common in the neighbouring hilly regions of Ladakh and Askardu.[288] About polyandry in these regions, as elsewhere, has been attributed to the poverty of the people.[289] It has been practised since long and the custom originated due to the scarcity of land and other resources coupled with the scarcity of women.[290] In the context of Kashmiri Hindus, we do not have any information but the institution was operational in the rich families during the Hindu rule, says S.C Ray.[291] This practice might have also continued during the period under study as well.

To break the social contract i.e. marriage, the practice of divorce though prevailed among the Muslims, was rarely resorted to and that too in certain exceptional

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283 M. Hasan, *op.cit*, pp. 99-102

284 Moorcroft's who visited Kashmir during 19th century considers Shah Sahab, whose family come from Turkistan a saint because of his noble birth and piety by Moorcroft, *Travels,* p. 81

285 Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff. 531a-b

286 See Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 266

287 Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, pp. 601- 602

288 Bernier, *op.cit.*, pp. 419-420

289 See Y. S. Parmar, *Polyandry in Himalayas*, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1975, pp. 21-34

290 Polyandry is a strategy of keeping the household property and estates consolidated.
Mujumdar, *op.cit*, 1971, p. 54

291 S.C Ray, *Early History and Culture of Kashmir*, p. 134

circumstances. The Muslim woman can also demand divorce and could remarry but a Hindu woman had no such privilege.[292] The death of husband makes her life extremely miserable; she was looked down upon and was subjected to humiliation and torture in society and even in her own family.[293] So burning alive (commonly known as *sati*) with her deceased husband on the funeral pyre was preferable. The perusal of *Rajatarangini* and the *Kathasaritsagar* (a composition of 11th century A.D) makes it clear that the custom of *sati* was quite common but not universally practised. The wide prevalence of this custom can be seen in the ruling families where not only regular married wives but even concubines used to follow it. We also come across mothers, sisters and near relatives burnt themselves with their deceased affectionate kinsmen.[294] Although we have no evidence to show that compulsion was inflicted upon them to perform *sati*. Those widows who did not go for *sati* on the death of their husbands were not admired; they were supposed to lead rigorous secluded life, and were forbidden to use ornaments and gorgeous dresses.[295] It was Sultan Sikander (1389-1413), who banned this inhuman custom which undermined the status of women; but the Kashmiri Brahmans considered it as a serious interference in their religion[296] and when Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-70) also known as Bhatta Shah[297] ascended the throne, contemporary Srivara in proud says that once again, "the females immolated themselves on the pyre of their beloveds and

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[292] Some Pandit women had to live at their father in-laws houses after the death of their husbands and had to bear a lot of cruelties See A. K. Bamzai, *The Kashmiri Pandits*, pp. 32-33; Sant Ram Dogra, *Code on Tribal Customs in Kashmir*, Samvat 1972, p. 8

[293] See Neera Darbari, *Northern Indian Under Aurangzeb*, 80; M.E.R. Martin, *Women in Ancient India*, Varanasi, 1964, pp. 60-66.

[294] *Rajatarangini*, VIII, 445, VI,107, VI, 260

[295] *Rajatarangini*, VIII, 1969; See also *Life and Conditions of the People of Hindustan*, op. cit., p. 189; Ibn Battuta, Tr. Mahdi Husain, pp. 22-23

[296] M. Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, 1974, p. 225; See Abul Qasim Firishta, *Tarikh-i-*

Firishta, pp. 340-341; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, English trans., op. cit., p. 38; Defending the policy of banning Sati by Sultan Sikandar, one of the modern scholar says that it was abolished on humanitarian grounds and in that matter Sultan anticipated the Emperor Akbar and Lord William Bentinck's. G. M. D Sufi, *Kashir*, Vol., 1, p. 149. Sufi's view has been however rejected by well known author of *Sufism in Kashmir* on the ground that Emperor Akbar and Lord William Bentinck's did not abolished sati because being champions of their religions like Sultan Sikander. A. Q. Rafique, *op.cit*, p. 100-101

[297] According to Hargopal Khasta, Zain-ul-Abidin was called not only 'Badshah' meaning "Great King" but also "Bhatta Shah" because of his patronage of Bhattas (Pandits). *Guldasta-i-Kashmir*, p. 116

were not forbidden by the king (Zain)."[298] It is interesting to note that practice of *sati* did not remain confined to Hindus only but the custom was accepted by the Muslim wives as well; they were buried alive along with their husbands after the latter's death.[299] Amir Khusrau, Malik Mohammad Jaisi and Ibn Batuta admired those women who did immolate themselves on the funeral pyre of their husbands.[300] Furthermore, the intermarriage among the Hindus and the Muslims continued throughout the period under study. The credit of raising voice against this goes to the Mughal Emperor Jahangir and Emperor Shah Jahan, who discouraged the intermarriages and strictly forbade the custom of *sati*.[301] However, in spite of the restrictions imposed from above, the practice continued until Emperor Aurangzeb ascended the throne. He strictly prohibited the practice and even appointed Darogas in almost every district to carry out the spirit of the proclamation; warned the officials to face dire consequences if *sati* was resorted to with their connivance or failure.[302] Though, it disappeared among the Kashmiri Muslims but continued among the Hindus until 19th century, when the founder of the modern Jammu and Kashmir, Maharaja Gulab Singh in 1847, issued a proclamation prohibiting *sati* from the land of Parvati.[303]

An important part of the social life of Kashmir was the institution of prostitution and the moral laxity; it seems to have been a prominent feature during the ancient times.

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[298] Srivara, *op.cit*, pp. 142-143

[299] Jahangir visited Rajouri in A.D 1620, and saw the Muslim women buried alive along with their dead husbands. Even a girl of ten or twelve was put alive into the grave along with her dead husband of the same age.

[300] See *Padmavati*, *Eng.*, Trans. A.G, Shirreff, *op. cit.*, p.112; Ibn Battuta, Trans., Mahdi Husain, *op. cit*., p. 23 Describing the practice of sati Amir Khusrau says "though this is not allowed in Islam, yet what a great achievement it is… if this practice is made lawful amongst us, pious devotees might surrender their lives" *Nuh Siphir*, Mss. *op. cit.*, Folio, 22

[301] Abdul Hamad Lahori, *BadshaNama*, Vol. I, (ed.) by Maulvi Kabir-ud-Din Ahmad and Abdul Rahim, Calcutta, 1867, pp. 57-59

[302] Khafi Khan, *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, Vol., I, p. 501; G. T. Vigne, *op.cit*., Vol., II, p. 151; Abdul Majid Matoo, *op.cit.*, p. 140

[303] During the Sikh rule in Kashmir we find certain cases of sati. According to G.T. Vigne, the cases of Sati were reported during the times of Diwan Kripa Ram (1821-30) and Sher Singh (1831- 33). Moreover, at the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1834 five of his Kashmirian slave girls were burnt along with him. Among them was his favourite dancing girl lotus too. *Travels*, Vol., II, pp. 111-112; See also Newspaper *Harkaru*, in which this proclamation was published, Calcutta, 23 December 1847.

How this institution came into existence in Kashmir is difficult to determine. It appears that the reason for the emergence of this profession could not have been different from the other parts of the country. Damodaragupta in his *Kuttanimatam* and Kshemendra in *Samayamatrika*, Desopodesa and Kalavilasa make it clear that the peculiar gain was the sole motive behind this profession. [304] In order to earn more and more money and to live a life of luxury, flesh trade was chosen as their occupation.[305] Furthermore, according to Ksemendra, these professional prostitutes (*gani:i*) were witty and expert talkers and keen observers of human psychology and before entering into the profession, they attained proficiency in their traditional sixty-four arts, especially meant for them by the authorities on the science of erotics.[306]Though typically an urban institution, it catered people from various social-economic and cultural backgrounds. It appears from the works of Ksemendra who seems to have an opportunity to watch prostitution from close quarters gives us with niceties details about the class of people who visited the prostitutes. For example, they include Saffron merchants, cooks, flower-sellers, the temple care-takers, the Damaras, the cavaliers, the writers, the sons of officers and those of ministers.[307] Even this institution was supported and encouraged by the Hindu Kings and nobles of Kashmir.[308]

During the period of Shahmiri Sultans the prostitution and the moral laxity was not a prominent feature, yet it was not unknown in Kashmir. Literary evidence amply testifies that many Muslim widows were indulging in sexual pleasures and orgies of debauchery; it reached to such an extent that Sultan Ala-ud-din (1343-1354) in order to check this nefarious practice promulgated a law that no unchaste widow had right of claiming the inheritance to the share of her departed husband's property from her father-in-laws.[309] Interestingly, Sultan Hasan Shah (1472-1484) about whom the anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi* says that Sultan was very fond of the society of women; had in his seraglio twelve hundred Hindustani dancers and public women, besides those of

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[304] *Desopadesa* III, *Kalavilasa* III, *Kutanimattam*, pp. 123 Cf. Krishna Mohan, *Early Medieval History of Kashmir*, pp. 236-237

[305] See for details Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, IV, p. 481, 661, V, 294

[306] Krishna Mohan, *Early Medieval History of Kashmir*, p. 236

[307] *Ibid*, p. 237; See also S. C. Ray, *op.cit*, pp. 135-136

[308] *Ibid*, pp. 236-238; See also S. C. Ray, *op.cit*, pp. 135-137

[309] Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J. C. Dutt, pp. 36-37

Kashmir.[310] When Kashmir became a part of Mughal Empire, women's suffered along with all other people; they remained objects of attraction and possession and were sold and purchased like other commodities.[311] Bernier mentioned in one of his letter that, "it is from this country (Kashmir) that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines."[312] He, in one of his letter to Monsieur de Mervelles wrote about the Kashmiri women, as: [313]

> …besides being as whites as those of Europe, they have a soft face, and have a beautiful height; so it is from there that all those come are to be found at the Ottoman Court, and that all the Great Seigniors keep by them. I recollect that as we are coming back from that country, we saw nothing else but little girls in the sort of cabins which the men carried on their shoulder over the mountains.

He further added that, "there must be beautiful women among the higher classes, if we may judge by those of the lower orders seen in the streets and in the shops."[314] And it was lure for the Kashmiri women that brought into existence a regular traffic of women during the period under study. Like Sultan Hasan Shah, in the seraglio of blind Mughal Emperor, Shah Alam, "Cashmerian beauty formed the principal ornament of the palace".[315]

It is important to mention here that the construction and the representation of the fabled land and people especially the women folk of Kashmir started appearing with unfailing regularity from the later half of seventeenth century with the publication of his nine letters in 1670, and it is since then Kashmir entered in European popular imagination as a spectacular distant land and the home of proverbial beauty. Echoes of Bernier became an essential part of European narrative tradition and can easily be heard from the writings of Thomas Moore, who never set foot in Kashmir and yet managed to construct an exotically romantic image in his discourse on Kashmir.

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[310] Anonymous, *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, Eng., trans., Pandita, f. 2 8a

[311] P. N. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p.91

[312] Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mogul Empire, A. D. 1656-1668,* pp. 404-405

[313] *Ibid, p. 405*

[314] *Ibid, p. 404*

[315] Thomas Twining, *Travels in India: A Hundred Years Ago,* p. 227; See also Showkat A Dar, *Kashmir and an Appraisal of Mughal Rule in Kashmir,* Punjab History Conference, 44th Session, 2012, pp. 140-146

CHAPTER-5

LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Lalla Arifa is the conscience of all men
In the eyes of God, she holds a status higher than most men

Saadullah Shahabadi, *Bagh-i Sulaiman*

PERSIAN INFLUENCE AND THE ADOPTION OF THE PERSIAN LANGUAGE:

The Valley of Kashmir cradled in the lap of majestic Himalayas, occupied an exceptional geographical position of comparative isolation. This isolation from the pre-historic times, though not preventing outside influences, permitted the development of a unique culture. This culture is an amalgam of many traits resulting from the blending of the indigenous and foreign elements. This is abundantly substantiated by archaeology, philology, ethnology, and the different cultural facets of Kashmir. The foreigners, notably the Mauryas, the Kushans, the Huns and also by the Mughals had successfully appeared on the political firmament of Kashmir to affect its ethos deeply and subject its people to their whims and diktats. The political elites and the corridors of power promoted their own culture, in a way, affecting the collective psyche of the people of Kashmir which is reflected from every Kashmiri in one or in other form. However, in spite of various political vicissitudes, Kashmiri culture did not become a miscellany of heterogeneous borrowed items; it was not the patchwork tatter of beggars. Kashmiri culture is the culture of Kashmiri people. But a culture that ceases getting influenced by other cultures becomes stagnant; quite true, the people of Kashmir share many traits of other cultures, either because of the cumulative result of long series of contacts or because of the shared lineage and history.

Since time immemorial, all these exogenous cultures with which Kashmir had contacts, it goes without saying that the most important culture whose deep imprints are seen in the community life of Kashmir is the Persian and Central Asian culture. Attested by the terracotta tiles unearthed at Harwan which dates back to the fourth century A.D,

depicts Iranian influences (or sometimes termed as Sassanid) of variegated nature.[1] The Persian influence can also be seen in the historical work of Kalhana (1149-50) which was written before the foundation of Sultanate.[2] However, with the immigration of upper class Muslims in Kashmir, the process of Islamization initiated in the twelfth century. This put Kashmir in the radius of Near Eastern culture, dominated by the Persian elements especially the Persian language which was the language of Muslim elite. With the spread of Islam, which was a handy work of Persian and Central Asian preachers[3] and the establishment of Sultanate in A.D 1339 upto the Mughal period, Persian a language of the *dai's* and the language of the rulers and elites, received unprecedented boost.

Persian was patronized by all the rulers starting from Rinchan alias Sadar al-Din (1320-1323) to the last Afghan governor, Jabbar Khan. However, it is not known when it replaced Sanskrit as court language. It seems that Persian began to replace Sanskrit during the reign of Sultan Shihab al- Din (1354-1373), as he was the first Muslim ruler to

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1 The influences can be seen on the Harwan tiles, the coats of the steed- riders; the balloon shaped pendent hanging to the horses' neck etc. See R.N.Kaw, The Neolithic Culture of Kashmir, In, ed. D.P. Agrawal and Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *Essays in Indian Proto-history* p.227; S.L. Shali, *Kashmir History and Archaeology Through the Ages*, pp.59-65

2 Many Persian words entered into Sanskrit vocabulary and it was possible only because of the diffusion. From Kalhan's Rajatarangini one can see *divira* (Persian dabir), *ganja* (Persian ganjavara), *Rajanaka* (Persian Raina) and *khari* (Persian kharbar).See *Rajatarangini*, V. p.177; VII. 199; IV. 589; V. 177; VIII. 131; See also P. N K Bamazi, *The Cultural and Political History of India,* 2 vols.,Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003, pp 564; Mohibbul Hasan, op.cit, p. 253

3 According to Auriel Stein, this was not the result of any forcible conquest but an outcome of gradual conversion, for which the influx of foreign adventurers both from the south and from central Asia, had prepared the ground. Auriel Stein, Introduction to *Rajatarangini*, p.130; Jozef Pacholczyk, in his paper Sufyana Kalam, the Classical Music of Kashmir gave multiple reasons for the same, according to him, Islam philosophically did not presents a diametrically different idea as it was imported not from the centres of the orthodoxy(by it he means a place of its birth), but from Persia and Central Asia(a compromising land), the areas of contact of Islamic and Indian thoughts, and was impregnated with the teaching of Sufis. It was introduced to the people among whom the mysticism was already well established. He further adds that socially, religion Islam is democratic in principle offered better status to the lower classes and was accepted by all castes except the Brahmans(higher caste), who until now constitute a separate group of so-called Pandits. See Jozef Pacholczyk, Sufyana Kalam, the Classical Music of Kashmir, *Asian Music*, University of Texas Press ,Vol. 10, No. 1 (1978), pp. 1-16 http://www.jstor.org/stable/834122. Accessed: 19/03/2013 00:46

have established *madrasa-tul-Quran* in the Valley.[4] During the golden period of Zain-ul-Abidin *madrasas* and *maktabas* sprang up everywhere; for example, a big Madrasa was established at *Sir*, in Dachanpara under the headship of Mullah Gazi Khan. A Dara-ul-Uloom was set up near his royal palace at Noushara under the guidance of a distinguished scholar Mullah Kabir Nahvi and in order to meet its expenses, revenue of several villages was assigned; it further popularized Islamic knowledge through Persian language.[5] Furthermore, a translation Bureau was set up in which many Arabic and Sanskrit books were translated into Persian.[6] Maulana Shah Muhammad Shahabadi translated Kalhana's *Rajatarangini,* "the River of Kings" into Persian and was called *Bahr-ul-Amsar*; and to make the Sanskrit text of Kalhana upto date Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin gave patronage to Jonaraja who wrote biography of Sultan entitled Zaina *Charita*; *Katha Saritasagar* of Somadeva and *Mahabharata* (Great War epic) was ordered to be translated into Persian.[7] Srivara translated Jami's *Yusuf Zulaikha* and entitled it *Katha-Kautuka*.[8] The greatest contribution to the spread of Persian was made by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin by authorising two works namely *Tufang Sazi* (Manufacture of firearms) and *Shikayat* (complaints). Unfortunately, these works are extinct now. However, the author of *Waqait-i-Kashmir* has preserved one of the verses of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who was well disposed towards Persian poetry. In a humour refers towards his poet:[9]

Shakh-i- pishani-yi Mullah Ahmad-i- Kashmiri bin
Ghar nadidasti tu dar afaq insane shakhdar

See the horn at the fore head (shamla) of Mullah Ahmad-I Kashmiri
If you have not seen a horned man in the world

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4 G. M. D Sufi, *op.cit*, pp. 146-147; Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 253; P. N K Bamazi, *op. cit*, pp 564. All these scholars agreed that Persian was adopted as an official language during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin.

5 G. M. D Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, Light and Life Publications, New Delhi 2000., p. 148

6 Sayyid Ali, f.16b

7 Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Ali Mohammad and Sons, Srinagar 1959, p. 255

8 G.M. D Sufi, *op.cit*, pp. 167

9 Mohammad Azami Didamari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, J&K Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001, p. 51

In reply to the verse of Sultan, the poet laureate says:[10]

> *Shakh-i- pishani Khadiva gurg vari dashtam*
> *Ta na ayam darmiyan-i-mada gavan dar shumar*
>
> O Lord I have kept the horn on my forehead like the rhinoceros,
> So that I may not be flocked with cows

Discovering the bright prospects in Persian language, the Brahmins of Kashmir, a traditional community of Sanskrit scholarship, mastered and achieved the great proficiency in that very language.[11] Narayan Koul Ajaz was one of the first Kashmir *Bhattas*, who excelled in the Persian literature. He authorizes a well-known work called *Mukhtasar Tawarikh-i-Kashmir*.[12]

With the increasing patronage extended to Persian scholarship by both Sultans and Chaks, a large number of scholars and poets came to Kashmir. The prominent among them were Mulla Hafiz Baghdadi, Mulla Parsa Bukhari, and Mulla Jamal-ud-din Khawarazani, who served as the (*qadi al-qudat*) chief Justice;[13] Mir Ali Bokhari and Mulla Yusuf Rashidi were most noted teachers during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. Sayyid Ahmad Kirmani visited Kashmir during the reign of Nuzuk Shah[14] and Sayyid Jamal al-Din Bukhari a Suhrawardi saint scholar and a disciple of Shaikh Haji Abdul Wahab Dehlvi arrived in Kashmir during late sixteenth century. According to the author of *Waqat-i Kashmir*, Shaikh Haji Abdul Wahab too visited Kashmir during the reign of Mirza Haider Daughlat.[15] Mirza himself being a man of letters encouraged learning and

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10 Mohammad Azami Didamari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, J&K Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001, p. 51

11 Yodhabhatta had mastered whole of Shahnama which he recited to the delight of Sultan. G. M. D Sufi, *op.cit*, pp. 146-147; Mohibbul Hasan, op.cit, p. 253; P. N K Bamazi, *op. cit*, pp. 564. Srivara says that the Bhattavatara had perused the Shahnama, vast as the sea, composed a work named Jainavilsa in the honour of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. See Srivara, op.cit., p.136

12 See the Chapter on sources

13 According to Azami, Mulla Jamal-ud-din Khawarazani compiled a book on Imams and Caliphs. Khwaja Muhammad Azam Diddamari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, J&K Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001, p. 102

14 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., III, p. 55

15 *Waqat-i Kashmir*, p.85; G. M. D Sufi, *op.cit*, pp. 146-147; Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 253; P. N. K Bamazi, *op. cit*, pp. 564

in order to boost Persian language he introduced it at root level by appointing Persian teachers in every village.[16]It was also during the Sultanate, that large number of Sufis visited Kashmir mainly for Islamization. A mention may be made of Sayyid Tajuddin, Sayyid Husain Simnani and Sayyid Hassan Bahadur. Mir Sayid Ali Hamadani-the main architect of Islamization in Kashmir was accompanied by a caravan of seven hundred Sayyids and the prominent being Pir Haji Mohammad Qari, Sayyid Jalal-ud-din Attaie, Sayyid Kamal-u-din, Sayyid Feroz and Sayyid Ruknuddin. Mir's mission was carried on by his son, Mir Mohammad Hamadani, who came to Kashmir along with his three hundred disciples.[17] Viewed the role played by the Sufi da'is in Kashmir, *Shayir-i-Mashrik* Mohammad Iqbal, a poet-philosopher of Kashmiri origin writes in his book *Javaid Nama,* as:[18]

سید السادات سالار عجم   دست او معمار تقدیر امم
تا غزالی درس الله هو گرفت   ذکر و فکر از دودمان او گرفت
مرشد آن کشور مینو نظیر   میر و درویش و سلاطین را مشیر
خطه را آن شاه دریا آستین   داد علم و صنعت و تهذیب و دین

With the ascendery of the Chaks (1561-1586), especially Husain Shah Chak (1563-70) and Yusuf Shah (1579-86) to the throne of Kashmir, the Persian language and literature gained further impetus. It even thrived more than one knows about it. Politically though the Chak period presents a dismal picture,[19] but paradoxically enough, we find the mass production of Persian learning and literature. The reasons are obvious. One of the

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16 Baba Nasib, *Nur Nama*, ff.415a-417ab

17 Sayyid Ali, f.12b; *Waqat-i Kashmir*, p. 42

18 *Kuliyat,* p. 358

The lord of lords, commander of Ajam
Whose hand shaped the destiny of many a people,
The Sayyid of the paradise-like land
Adviser alike to the chief, the saint and the king;
To the region (Kashmir) that liberal-handed lord
Gave knowledge, art, culture and religion
The man who produced a smaller Iran
With skills unique and winsome.

19 See Shia-Sunni interaction

important reasons for this seems that Persian language and literature got both the patronage of state and religion as it assumed the position of religious language propagated by the Sufi masters.

Husain Shah Chak was a poet and in view of his poetic temperament, a large number of poets came to Kashmir of which Maulana Mir Ali, a poet and calligraphist, Mulla Nami I, Mulla Nami II and Mulla Baqi are famous.[20] On finding Sultan Husain Shah benign and just ruler, the poets produced a chronogram of his accession to the throne as *Khusraw-i-'Adil* (the Just King).[21] Baba Talib Asfahani arrived in Kashmir during the time of Gazi Shah (A.D. 1561-63). Yusuf Shah Chak (1579-86) was well versed in music and Hindi, Kashmiri and Persian poetry[22]; moreover a great lover of art and literature, patronized number of poets like Moulana Ahmad, Mohammad Amin Mustaghni, and Mirza Ali Khan etc.[23] This period not only provided a fertile turf for the immigrant scholars but it too gave an impetus to the native scholarship. The testimony of literary efflorescence became quite common in the work of Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi and Baba Da'ud Khaki.[24] The other notable Kashmiri who surfaced during the period were Khwaja Hasan Qari, author of well known *Rahat al Talibin* (The Solace of Aspirants) which he wrote in honour of his spiritual leader Shaikh Hamza Makhdoom;[25] his son, Khwaja Ishaq Qari wrote Chilchihat al Arifin; Miran Bazaz, a less known disciple of Shaikh Hamza wrote *Tazkara-i-Murshidin* which gave short life sketch of some noted saints. Shaikh Ahmad Chagli authorized *Risala-i Sultaniyya*, Mir Haider Tailmulla wrote

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[20] Diddamari, Khwaja Muhammad Azam, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, J&K Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001, p.234-37.

[21] *Baharistan-i Shahi*, Eng., trans., K. N. Pandita, p.97

[22] The anonymous author of Baharistan-i-Shahi has preserved one verse of his extinct poetry as:

dil-e pur dard-i man jann basan-e ghuncheh pur khun ast
chih berahmi na pursidi kih ahwal-e dilat chun ast

[23] G. M. D Sufi, *op.cit*, pp. 146-152

[24] See Major Voices from Kashmir during the Period

[25] A manuscript of this copy is preserved in RPD

Hidayat-al Mukhlisin, Mulla Ali Raina wrote *Tadhkirat al Arifin,* Baba Naseeb-ud-din wrote *Nur Nama,* and Baba Daud Mishkati wrote *Asrar al-Abrar*.[26]

A LANGUAGE OF SUBALTERNS: KASHMIRI

Having said all this about the development of Persian Language and literature and the patronage it received, it would be historically absurd to think that Persian became a language spoken by the common masses. Persian like Sanskrit was a refined medium of the microscopic minority of the elites-rulers, nobility, and the people of Central Asian origin (Sufis). Kashmiri having Dardic origin [27] remained, as before, the mother tongue of a vast majority of population and it was a language "to feel and think, bless and curse, quarrel and kiss." [28] But to be frank enough, it never enjoyed the position of a literary medium or the official language in the area of its birth. The rise of the Persian literature in Kashmir occurred at a time when the Kashmiri vernacular had made a remarkable growth in the hands of poets like Lal Ded and Shaikh Noor-ud-din.[29] Both of these great souls used Kashmiri vernacular as a vehicle of creative expression for the first time thus it goes without saying that they influenced the course of Islamic development in the valley by coordinating it and giving it direction through the language of masses.[30] Lal Ded, a saivite vogini, preached monastic Kashmirian shiva philosophy, which is called the seventh school of Indian philosophy, and in order to reach the masses she propagated her teaching and spiritual experience through the people's language i.e. Kashmiri. Thus, laid the foundation of the rich Kashmiri literature and folklore and as per Bamazi, "more

[26] Cf. Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, Manohar, New Delhi, 1994 p. 14; See also *Sufism in Kashmir*, xxii

[27] S. K. Chatterjee, *Kashmiri language and literature, Kashmir*, IV, 1954, pp. 75-78; For debate on the origin of Kashmiri language See; P. N. K Bamazi, *op. cit*, pp. 577; G.M. D Sufi, *op.cit*, pp. 176-181

[28] Prof. A. H. Tak, Kashmir's Persian Poetry: Problem of Cultural identity in *Danish Research Journal*, Vol. XXVII, Kashmir University, 2oo9-10, pp. 45-46

[29] She is considered as an oldest author in Kashmiri Sir George Grierson, *Linguist Survey of India*, Vii, part ii, p. 237. It is interesting to note that lyrics of Lala and her spiritual offspring were written either in Sharda or in Persian script. No script of ko:shur evolved as such.

[30] It is important to mention here that in fact Mouj Lala did not directly preach the Islamic teachings but her vakhs does not contradict with the ontological teachings of the da'is, thus served the cause of Islam in Kashmir. For the role of Lal Ded and Nurdin see Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, pp. 70-75

than thirty percent of the Kashmiri idioms and proverbs derive their origin from her *Vakhs*".[31] Her verses contain a large number of Sanskrit words or Sanskrit words were adopted from the then Kashmiri language.[32] Interestingly enough, to note that Lala herself could not run away from the Persian influence as in her *Vakhs*, she used many words from Persian language like *khar* (donkey), *durugh-guy* (a liar), *jang (*war), *birang* (colourless), *rang* (colour), *piyala* (cup) and *miva* (fruit).[33] This also testifies the synthesis of varied cultures and the great influence of the Persian in Kashmir.

The profound impact of the Persian language would not only get Kashmiri replaced as the mother tongue but in all probability would have divided the inhabitants of Kashmir into two linguistic groups, one speaking Sanskritised Kashmiri, (for that matter say Kashmiri Pandits) and the other Kashmiri with Persian words (converted Kashmiri Muslims).[34] Nuru Din, a junior contemporary of Lala, was not only the knight in shining armour for Kashmiri Language, when it (Kashmiri language) had seen the imminent threat of extinction from its intellectuals and contempt from its rulers, did not only enlarge its colloquial ambit but he can be considered the maker of the present language. His sayings are less poetic, more didactic easily understandable and has, thus, passed into

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31 P. N. K Bamazi, *op. cit*, pp. 522. See B. N Parimoo, *The Ascent of Self*, Delhi, 1978; Jiya Lala Koul, *Lal Ded*, Sahitya Akademi, 1973

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Sanskrit	Kashmiri	English Meaning
deva	Drv	deity
archana	artsun	worship
ma rga	marg	path
indriya	yendriy	the senses
klesha	kalesh	difference
abuddhi	abudi	without wisdom

33 Cf. G. L. Tikoo, *Persian Poetry in Kashmir*, 1339-1846: An Introduction, University of California, Barkely, 1971, p. 33

34 The Kashmiri Muslims tend to make use of Persian lexical terms while as the Kashmiri Hindus prefer to use old Indo-Aryan loan words, for e.g.,

Muslims	Hindus	English meaning
Zamin	butrath	earth
a:b	po:ny	water
khuda:	bagva:n	God
ruh	pra:n	soul
akhta:b	sir:	sun
kha:b	sopun	dream
khidmat	siva	help

common usage. In order to bridge the gap, he used both Sanskrit and Persian words like *Siva*, *hara, sidhi, gur* for "teacher", *kalyug* "age of darkness" [sin], and *pandit* "learned" are Sanskrit words; *tasbih* (rosary), *murid* (novice), *kham* (clay pot), *pir* (spiritual teacher), *rahzan* (robber), *shah* (king), *sang* (stone) *tazi* (horse), *qadi* (judge), *mulla* (priest), *nafs* (self), *sheen, barf, yakh* for snow, *butrath*, *botal*, *Zamin* for earth, *Nab*, *Asman*, *Gagan* for Sky etc. were Arabic, Persian words which enriched Kashmiri lexicon.[35] Thus to say, the Kashmiris remained long exposed to foreign influences, be it Sufi missionaries (*da'is*), traders, invaders or foreign rulers. This exposure enabled them to enrich, compromise or to change their original dialects accordingly. This can be judged from the fact the in the pre-Muslim Kashmir, the script of Kashmiri was in *Sharda* but after the establishment of the Muslim rule when Persian became the official language and the medium of communication among the educated classes, *nastaliq* script was used for writing Kashmiri.

It is important to mention here that all the Kashmiri literature is in poetic form and can be divided into two main parts (a) Mystic poetry or *va:kh-shrukh* period (b) love lyrics or *lo:l vatsun* period. The early phase of Kashmiri poetry was dominated by the mystic songs and poems and one of the characteristics of this period was the blending of Hindus Shaivite and Muslims Sufi thought and traditions. Lala Ded in her vakhs (*va:kh*, from Sanskrit *va:kya*, 'saying'; a large number of them are composed in a simple question answer style), denounced the false exhibitionist practices and pointed to the essence of spiritualism. She laid stress on the need to go inwards and realise the self and perceive the Divine in everything. She addresses this in these words:

Kava chhuk divan anine vatsha,
Trukai chhuk ta Andrei atsha
Shiv chhui aet ta Kun mo gatsh
Sahaz kathi myani karto patsh

Why are you groping in the dark like the blind? If you are wise go within yourself, Shiva is there in your heart. Do trust me since it has come to me naturally.

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[35] *Ibid*, pp. 33-36

Like Lala, Nur-ud-din says:

Having forsaken all I sought You,
While searching You the prime of my youth passed away,
When I found You within my own self,
I remained in safety because of Your laminations. [36]

Lala was well aware of her role in the contemporary society and what is more important is her tremendous self-confidence while preaching the dynamic philosophy of egalitarianism. As, for instance, in these lines Lala envisages an open society free from all differences based on caste, creed and position. She says:

rav matu thali thali taapitan
taapitan uttam-uttam dish
varun matu lotu garu atsytyan
shiv chhuy kruth tu tsen vopadish[37]

Does the sun not shine everywhere alike, or does it shine only on the best places? Does not the water god "Varuna" enter every home? Or does it enter only the homes of the fortunate?

Again:

The time is coming when seven generations will sink to hell,
When ultimately showers of rain and dust will fall,
When plates of flesh and wine cups,
Brahamans and sweepers will take together.[38]

Ghulam Ahmad Mahjoor, the national poet of Kashmir echoes the same sentiments in the twentieth century as: [39]

The dreary wastes shall no more lie desolate,
A new world shall settle therein,
The deserts shall change into a flower garden,
The thorny poisonous bush (arak hal) shall get a graft of the pine;
The willow shall get durability of the Sandal Wood,
The hills shall give birth to precious stones,
The ranges of the mountains shall yield gold,
Pearls shall emerge out of the Wular Lake.

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36 Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *Kashmir's Transition to Islam*, p. 102

37 See *Saints and Sages of Kashmir*, Kashmir News Network, (http://iKashmir.net)

38 Bazaz, *op.cit.*, p. 83

39 *Ibid*, pp. 278

Lal Ded was highly critical of formal religion and rituals; she puts it very clearly here:

Deev vatta divar vatta
Petha bon chhuy ikavaath
Pooz kas karakh hutta Batta
Kar manas tu pavanas sangaath[40]

Idol is of stone, temple is of stone; from top to bottom all is stone; which of them wilt thou worship O foolish Pandit? Cause thou the union of mind with Soul.

In the same style, Shaikh Nuru Din says:[41]

Thou shalt not become a Rishi by prostration-
the pestle in the rice mill never raise its head.
Thou shalt not find God by entering the cave-
mongoose and rat never left there holes.
Thy mind shall not be cleansed by bathing-
fish and otter never ascended to the shore.
Were He pleased by fasting-
the indigent never cooked his food.

The sense of confidence and the determination against the social norms or taboos can be gauged from these Lal *Vakhs*:

lyakh tu thwakh pethu sheri hetsum
nyanda sapnyam path bronthu tany
lal chhas kal zanh nu thsenim
adu yeli sapnis vyepe *kyah?*

Abuse and spit I wore like a crown, Slander followed or preceded my steps; But Lal I am, never swerved from my goal. My being suffused with God, where is the room for these?

Again:

I burnt the foulness of my soul;
I slew my heart, its passions all;
I spread my garments, hem and sat;
Just there, on bended knee,
In utter surrender unto Him;
My fame as Lala spread afar.[42]

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40 Jiya Lala Koul, *Lal Ded*, p. 16; For Hindi See Shiban Kaul Raina, *Lal Ded*, Bhuvan Vani Trust, Lucknow, 1977, p. 37. See also P. N. K Bamazi, *op. cit*, pp. 553; Neerja Matoo, *Syncretric tradition and the creative life*, in *The Parchment of Kashmir*, ed. Nyla Ali Khan, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012, p. 97

41 B. N. Parimu, ed. and trans., *Nund Rish: Unity in Diversity*, J&K Academy of Art, Culture, and Languages, Srinagar, 1984, p.152; See also Anand Koul, *Life of Nund Rish*, IA, LIX, Oct., 1930, pp. 28-30

42 Jiya Lala Koul, *Lal Ded*, p. 117

Thus to say, the earliest period (*va:kh-shrukh* period) of Kashmiri poetry was loaded with monotheistic philosophy in which both the holy scholars preached the philosophy of love and laid stress on ethical and moral values, rather on formal religion and religious practices. Because of their egalitarian approach, they not only moulded the history of the region but remarkably contributed to the development of composite culture, which in today's parlance is known as Kashmiriyat.

The *va:kh-shrukh* or Mystic poetry used by Lala and her spiritual offspring Nur-ud-din was followed by love lyrics or *lo:l-vatsun* period. Though, it is important to note here that after Lala and Nur-ud-din, there were hardly any specimens of Kashmiri writing for another century, understandably so, because of the patronage given to Persian language. But after the long lapse of time, a new type of poetry known as '*lol'* surfaced in Kashmir and of the many known and unknown poets of lol version, the most celebrated was Habba Khatoon or Zoon-a princess of last Chak ruler Yusuf Shah. From her songs one could easily see a change in the form as well as thought content of Kashmiri poetry; Habba like Lala was not a mystic, thus her poetry was devoid of the mystical touch and of religious experience. Her love lyrics characterise yearning, longing and the sufferings of unrequited love. She put into her songs the intense sorrow that filled her heart because of the separation of Yusuf, who was compelled to spend his life in wilderness by Emperor Akbar after the annexation of Kashmir. She unfolds her love for her husband Yusuf in her songs. The separation and loneliness of Habba Khatoon from her *mahbub* (beloved) and the longing for his return can be gauged from this lol song-

Addressing Yusuf she sang: [43]

گوشن سنزھا وتھراوے
ولو میاند پوشہ مالو

I Shall bestrew the meadows with flowers for thee
Come! My lover of flowers

[43] Cf. Nila Cram Cook, *Ways of the Swan*, Bombay, 1958, p. 91. http://www. poemhunter.com; See also Akhtar Mohi-ud-Din, *Social Ideals and Patriotism in Kashmiri Literature*, Indian Literature, May-June 1977; Ghulam Nabi Khayal, *Some Women Poets in Kashmiri*, Indian Literature, May-June1982; Bazaz, *op.cit*, pp. 278-279. The love lyric tradition started by Habba Khatoon was continued by *Khwaja Habibullah Nawshehri* born in the middle of sixteenth century, *Rupa Bhavani* and *Arnimal* two genius Kashmiri Panditanis (17th century), *Svacha Kral* and *Shah Gafoor* (in 19th century).

ولہ متیہ لژھوو ویٹھ - لیس مرہ سو کتیو پیئے
پراران چھس تھتریہ زیٹ - ولو حسیانہ پوش مالو

Come! Thou, O my darling! Let us collect Jasmine,
For none doth return after death.
I am waiting for thee
Come! My lover of flowers

ولہ متیہ گژھو پوشن - مارہ متھے یاد چھوم روشن
روشتھ دوروم گوشن - ولو حسیانہ پوش مالو

Come! My dear come, Let us be off the meadows to collect flowers

My bellowed is sulking

And keeping himself away in remote regions

Come! My lover of flowers

ولہ متہ گژھو ہندے - لوکہ متہ کڑنس زرے
لانیو سنبالی کتیہ انزے - ولو حسیانہ پوش مالو

Come! My dear, come! Let us go out to collect lettuces

The people are speaking ill of me

But who can alter ones destiny?

Come! My lover of flowers

ولہ متہ لژھوو آلیس - دُنیا چھو ندرے تہ خوالیس
پراران چھیو جوالیس - ولو حسیانہ پوش مالو

Come! Then my beloved! Let us go to the river bank
The world is enveloped in deep slumber
But I am waiting for a replay for thee
Come! My lover of flowers

By degrees, her wailings became pathetic, her agonies piercing. She moaned:

Love has consumed me from within,
He has cast me into a hot oven,
And is burning me to cinder.
Love has melted me like the snow,
He has fretted me like the hill stream,
And has made me restless like the rills.[44]

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44 Cf. Bazaz, *Daughters of Vitasta*, p. 156

Viewed in this context or by examining the Kashmiri poetry until the ascendery of the Mughals on the political scene of Kashmir, it can be said with authority that Kashmir produced number of native scholars who used the language of the common masses (Kashmiri) as the vehicle of creative expression in order to propagate their views and ideas. It was not only a period when only the genres like *Vakh*, *Shrukh* or *Lol* developed but the other forms of literary genres, too, were introduced like *Na'at* (panegyrics in the honour of Prophet ﷺ); *Marsia (*elegy-with the development of Shia Faith during the Chak period), *Masnavi (*narrative verse); *Gazal (*independent rhymed couplet, see Shaikh Nur-ud-din's *Gungal Nama*). However, the Kashmiri literature has borrowed majority of its literary genres - *ghazal, qasida, ruba 'i, mathnavi, manqaba* and *marthya* from Persian and it was because of the court's patronage and the Persian contacts.

The entire Mughal period is practically devoid of any such high standard poetry or literature in the local vernaculars. Although, it is not to be felt that Kashmiri language and literature was totally neglected by the sons of soil. We have number of well known native scholars who wrote in their mother tongue. A mention may be made of Khwaja Habib-ul-llah Noushari (d. 1617), who composed mystic poems both in Kashmiri and Persian language. According to P. N. K Bamazi, "he [Khwaja Habib-ul-llah] is the connecting link between the mystic poetry of earlier period and the 'lol' or love lyrics which were a feature of Kashmiri poetry in succeeding centuries."[45] Here are few such verses of Khwaja Noushari showing devotional religious theme on one hand and a tradition of lol on the other-

Arifav ta aashikav rachay van
Mani buz Mansuri naara dazas tan
Anal-haq por tani manz marakan[46]

Ascetics and Sufis sought refuge in the wilderness
The Secret that sizzled the bosom of Mansur (reference to Sufi Mansur al-Hajjaj),
"I am the Truth" he dared to shout to the populace around.
Repeat not poor me, lest the truth becomes known.

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[45] P. N. K Bamazi, *The Cultural and Political History of India,* 2 vols.,Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003.pp. 580.

[46] Cf. Neerja Matoo, *Syncretric tradition and the creative life*, in *The Parchment of Kashmir,* ed. Nyla Ali Khan, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2012, p. 97.

And here is what Sheikh Nur-u-din Norani had said in the same frame of mind and spirit:[47]

> He [Mansur] himself came and exclaimed (Anal-haq),
> He should not have made it public,
> He ought to have borne the brunt of love,
> Despite the pangs of his soul.

Here is a verse of Khwaja Noushari showing a tradition of profane love:

> کروھ دوٗریہ موٗٹھ تیر دِتیم داردارى
> زوٗرح ضایع کرتھہ نیرتھہ گوٗم
> پھیرتو وچھنس لجس پارى
> ڈشیتھ تراونم پارى ذان

> From far off he shot at me arrows of fascination,
> Then ran away having injured my heart,
> O, the charm of his casting a look back!
> He saw me and yet pretended not to know! [48]

The other scholars who had contributed in Kashmiri were Roopa Bhavani alias Alak Ishwari (1625-1721), Sahib Koul (d. 1642), Sadiq Qalander and Mirza Akmal-ud-din (d.1717). It is important to mention here that the poetess Roopa and her contemporary Sahib Koul though expressed their thoughts in mother tongue but a profound importance was given to Sanskrit words and Kashmiri Saivist thought; it was like what the Muslims do to the Persian and the Islamic thought. [49] As already mentioned, nothing worth mention has come down to us in the local vernaculars during the period under review; possibly it was destroyed in the natural calamities which were quite common in the Mughal period.[50] Possibly, it was not preserved; possibly lack of patronage from the Mughal Durbar as Persian language occupied the position of highest prestige in the

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47 *Kulliyat-i-Shaikh al-Alam*, p. 76

48 Cf. P. N. K Bamazi, *op. cit*, pp. 580

49 A Large number of Poems are preserved in Research Library Srinagar.

50 A considerable portion of the Subha was destroyed in Fire during 1622-24. See *Tuzuk*, pp. 219-220; *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Vol., I, Urdu trans., p. 555, *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, p. 174

hierarchy of Mughal literary forms. The other vital cause was to reach large audience as is conveyed by the verse of Mirza Afzal Beig Akamil (d. 1645).[51]

KASHMIR'S LITERARY CULTURE AND THE MUGHALS

With the annexation of Kashmir by Emperor Akbar in A.D 1586, Kashmir became an important outlying region and an integral portion of the empire of Delhi. Although true, the merger of the isolated self sufficient progressive civilisation with the union (Mughal India) resulted in the loss of independence of Kashmir, but at the same time it ushered in a new era of wider political and social relations. It also provided unique opportunities to the people of this isolated land by throwing its gates open for them. It thus enriched the already copious cultural heritage by incorporating them into the rich culture of the Mughal Durbar. During the long period of Mughal rule of hundred and sixty six years, Kashmir produced a large number of reputed scholars. The names which deserve mention are Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, Baba Daud Khaki, Malik Haider, Sati, Akmal-ud-din, Tayib, Auji, Mullah Mazhari Kashmiri, Saleem, Mulla Mohsin Fani and Mullah Tahir Gani, who wrote in Persian rather than in Kashmiri –a great tragedy for Kashmiri literature; possibly it was, as already said, to reach at large audience. G. M. D Sufi rightly points out that, "as thought waves were stirred and set in motion by the exquisite beauty of Kashmir's natural scenery and found their expression in Persian phraseology. It was as though the Kashmir fair were staging themselves not in their national *pheran* but in the clear cut fashionable and up to date Persian draperies flounced here and there with the Arab thread-work."[52] Before discussing the contribution of Kashmiri's to Persian poetry and the role of the Mughals, some of the questions which arise out of context demand attention. Why was Persian language taken so seriously by the Kashmiri poets and

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[51] *She'r-i shan dhar zuban-I Kashmirist,*
Bishnu aknun ki mani-I an chist
Farsi nazd-I parsi khanan
Man bikhvanam ki khush shaand az an.

Their poetry is written in Kashmiri,
Let me tell you the meaning of this poetry,
For the joy of Persian readers I shall now,
Read it in Persian language.

[52] G.M. D Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir,* p. 183

scholars or was it necessary in the first instance? What had happened to the native language and how was it taken by the corridors of power? What is the value of the poetry produced in Kashmir during the Mughal period? There are many more such questions which deserve attention.

As already stated, Persian was not introduced by the Mughals in the Valley of Kashmir but with the Islamization of Kashmir by the Sufi missionaries, who were well rooted in Persionate Islamic culture, which was preached not in Arabic but in their own mother language- Persian. The language, now well entrenched received unprecedented boost following the establishment of the Sultanate and the Mughal rule. However, it needs to be kept in mind that Persian in Kashmir as in Mughal India was a foreign language. It was the only vehicle of communication between the masters and the subjects and the necessity of learning the official language on the part of the ruled must have promoted the cause of Persian language and literature in Kashmir. Moreover, Persian being a language of the elite and a language strange to the vast number of people, it may in all probability have perpetuated a distance between the masters and the subjects on one hand and the elites and the commoners on other. During the Mughal period, especially with Akbar, the usage of Persian became a fashion[53] and because of the Mughal fascination for it, the regional languages failed to get any meaningful backing. Kashmiri Vernaculars decline beyond imagination resulted in a lull in the production of Kashmiri literature. It is said that when Gujarat was conquered by Emperor Akbar, all the poet scholars and the men of letters of the local vernacular fled to the courts of the Deccan Sultans and settled there.[54] However, the Mughal attitude towards Persian language was not cold; Emperor Akbar although being illiterate repeatedly heard the books in Persian,[55]

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[53] It is important to note that Emperor Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, wrote his autobiography in Turkish. Same was the first language of his son and successor Humayan. Furthermore, Bairam Khan, guardian and a most notable noble of Emperor Akbar too was a well known poet of Turkish language. Muzaffar Alam, "The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 2, 1998, pp. 317–349. Accessed: 15/02/2011

[54] Abdul Majid Siddiqi, *Tarikh-i-Golconda*, Hyderabad, 1964, p. 39

[55] Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol., I, Calcutta, 1873, pp. 271-72.

composed verses in Persian, land and cash grants were awarded to the Persian known scholars and poets.[56]

When Kashmir was merged with the larger Mughal Empire, Kashmiris were greatly benefitted, to say intellectually, as there were continuous associations of people between the Kashmir and the neighbouring regions plus the frequent travels of Kashmir's learned men to the famous centres of learning in the plains (both in India and Central Asia). Moreover, the Persian language which was already so firmly entrenched in Kashmir provided further impetus for Kashmiri intellectuals to have a look at wider world. Similarly, large number of poets, and men of letters from neighbouring countries like Delhi, Agra and the Central Asia made Kashmir their home during the Mughal period; thus giving a further fillip to the spread of Persian literary culture.[57] For instance, Abu Talib Ishfahani, a poet laureate of Shah Jahan, settled permanently in Kashmir and composed *Shahnama*.[58] Other well known poets like, Haji Mohammad Jan Qudasi, Mohammad Ali Quli, Mullah Tughra Meshedi (d. 1667), Mehzari, Moin-ud-din Naqashbandi, Mirza Sa'ib of Isfahan and Mir Illahi (d. 1652) came to Kashmir and established direct contacts with the native poets.[59] As per Bernier, at the time of

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56 In the court of Emperor Akbar only Persian poets had the privilege of enjoying royal patronage. The infatuation for the Persian poetry can be seen from the fact that Khan-i-Khana had over a hundred poets and thirty-one scholars and he used to give ass loads of money as gifts to those who would wrote Qasidah for him. See For details Abd-ul-Baqi Nihawandi, *Ma'asir-i Rahimi,* ed. H. Hosain, Calcutta, Vol., III, 193. Chhotubhai Ranchhhodji Naik, *Abdur Rahım Khan-i-Khanan and His Literary Circle*, Gujarat University, Ahmadabad, 1966. Other than Khan-i-Khana, a large number of Persian poets and writers received patronage from Emperor Akbar. About their number there are various views put forth by the contemporaries, as per Shaikh Adal Qadir Badaoni, they numbered one hundred and sixty eight however, according to the author of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* their number was only eighty one. See Khwaja Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i Akbari*, ed. Calcutta, Vol., II, 1927, pp. 484-520. Shaikh Adal Qadir Badaoni, *op.cit*., Vol., III, pp. 171-388

57 The same is true of Mughal India, It is quite interesting to note that Emperor Akbar sent many invitations to well known Iranian poets mention may be made of Chalapi Beg, Mir Sadr ud-Din, Muhammad Naqib and Mir Sharif Amuli's to visit India. Riyazul Islam, *A Calendar of Documents on Indo-Persian Relations, 1500-1750*, Karachi, 1979, Vol., I, pp. 106-120; See Aziz Ahmad, *afawid Poets and India,* British Institute of Persian Studies, Iran, Vol. 14 (1976), pp. 117-132

58 Cf. G. L. Tikko, *Persian Poetry in Kashmir*, p. 87

59 *Ibid*, p. 87. They all [Haji Mohammad Jan Qudasi, Mohammad Ali Quli Mullah Tughra Meshedi, Salim and Kalim are buried in *Mazar-i-Shuara* near Drugjan Srinagar except

the royal visit of Emperors to Kashmir, poetic competitions used to take place among the Kashmiri poets and the poets of India.[60] Here is one verse from Mehzari (d. 1617) and Mir Illahi (d. 1652):

مظهر، به جهان، چو تیره نصیبان میباش
وز گل بینوای عندلیبان میباش
با دیدنی از خوبیء عالم میساز
مهمان نظاره، چون غریبان میباش

O Mazhar, be like the luckless in the world,
Be like the nightingale crying for the rose.
Content your eyes with only seeing the beauty of the world,
Just a poor watch the sight like a guest.

با الهی ز االهی تو چه پرسی در حشر
آنچه او کرد تو دیدی و چه گفتن دارد

O Ilahi [Allah]! What shall you ask to Ilahi [poet] at the Day of Judgment?
You Know, what all he did; so no question about it.

It is said that in one of the *musha'ira* Mirza Sa'ib of Isfahan recited a poem amidst roars of applause. A young Kashmiri critic sitting among the audience made the following observation about the poem and the poet that "the ancients have versified all these fine thoughts much before and the moderns do nothing but change or replace the words". In reply Mirza Sa'ib smiled and recited an extempore abusive sort of verse:[61]

Ahl-i Danish jumla madmunha-yi rangin basta and
Hast madmun-i nabasta band-i tunban-i shuma

The erudite have composed (basta and) all colourful themes,
The only united nabasta themes are strings of your drawers.

Mir Illahi (d. 1652) laid rest in *Mazar-i-Kalan* near Nowhatta Srinagar. Mehzari was buried in the *Mulla Kawah* graveyard, Srinagar. *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, pp. 150-151, See also Hasan, *Tawarikh-i-Hasan*.

60 Bernier, Barnier, Francois, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, A.D. 1656-1668*, Eng. trans. Archibald Constable, London: W. Pickering, 1826; p. 401.

61 *Mi 'rat al-Khayal*, p. 89 quoted by G. L. Tikoo, *Persian Poetry in Kashmir*, 1339-1846: An Introduction, University of California, Barkely, 1971, p. 88

It was Emperor Shah Jahan's first governor Zafar Khan Khwaja Ahsan-u-llah (d. 1676), son of Khwaja Abdal Hasan, besides being a poet, patronised many poets, strengthened the tradition of poetical symposia *(tarhmusha'ira)* in Kashmir like those held in the capital city Delhi.[62] He is also said to have prepared a *bayaz* (register) which contained the selective poems of each poet in his own hand with his photograph on the reverse. He patronised poets like Mir Illahi, Kalim and Sa'ib of Isfahan and brought them to Kashmir. Here is one of the Persian couplets of poet scholar Sa'ib in which he compares his patron (Zafar Khan) with Khan-i-Khana (Abdul Rahim (1556–1627) who was much known for his bounteousness and the sponsor of Persian poets:[63]

Khankhanan ra ba bazm u razm saib dida am
Dar shuja'at u sakhavat chun zafar khan-i tu nist

O Sa'ib, I have witnessed Khan-i-Khana's generosity and gallantry,
In both, He is no peer of Zafar Khan.

Moreover, it is important to mention that poet like Sa'ib, about whom Maulana Shibli Nomani says, "[Sa'ib] was the last great Persian poet; superiority in originality to Qaani, the greatest and the most famous of the moderns"[64] acknowledges governor Zafar Khan *(*Ahsan-*nom de plume)* as his mentor in poetry in one of his verse as-[65]

Haqooq tarbiyat ki dar tarqi baad
Zaban kababat ki dar hazartat faro khoonum

Where is the tongue to describe before thy noble self?
The appreciation I owe to thy teaching which may ever increase

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62 The other patrons were Asaf khan, brother of Nur Jahan and Islam Khan Mirza Zia-ud-din; they had poetic bent of mind. *Mukhtasar-i-Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 105a

63 Cf. G. L. Tikoo, *Persian Poetry in Kashmir*, p. 94; Illahi has authorised a *diwan* and a *Tazkira* of poets called *Khazina-i-Ganj-i-Ilahi*.

64 Maulana Shibli Nomani, *Shir-ul-Ajam*, Eng., trans., Fakhr-i- Dai, Tehran, Vol., II,1995, p. 189

65 *Ibid*, p. 95

Here is what Zafar Khan said about poet Sa'ib:[66]

Tarz-i yaran pish-i ahsan bad azin maqbul nist
Taza guyiha-yi u fayd-I tab'-i Sa'ib ast

The style of friends is no longer acceptable to Ahsan,
His recent musings are a grace of the poetical gifts of Sa'ib.

A. Features of Persian Poetry Produced in Kashmir.

- The main subject matter of the Persian Poetry in Kashmir has been *tasawuf*, a name given to mysticism in Islam, by means of which a direct communion between God and man, union of form and essence, purity of life and soul can be attained. No less is the fact that most of the poets exhibit deep impact of the works and the philosophies of Ibn Arabi and Ain ul-Quzat (*wahadat al- wajud*). This poetry (Mystical) says Annermarie Schimmel, "helped both to form and express people's deep trust and unquestioning faith in God's wisdom".[67]
- Earlier the most prestigious form of Persian poetry was the *Qasida* (a lengthy formal ode taken over from Arabic), *Rubai* (quatrain) but now *Ghazal* (a form of lyrical poetry) became the most popular form for poetic compositions, and beauty of thought and originality of similes and metaphors were praised. [68]
- During the pre-Mughal era, the Persian poetry produced in Kashmir was the replication of the Iranian masters like Nizami, Attar, Faizi, Sanai and Jami; but in the Mughal era, because of their lavish patronage to the Persian poets, India became the most important centre, thus, an Indian style more popularly known as *sabk-e hindi*[69] was followed and the model for the Kashmir's Persian poets became Indian like Sa'ib, Urfi, Qudsi, Bedil and Naziri.

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66 Maulana Shibli Nomani, *Shir-ul-Ajam*, Eng., trans., Fakhr-i- Dai, Tehran, Vol., II,1995, p. 95

67 Annermarie Schimmel, *Islam in the Indian Subcontinent*, 1980, p. 149

68 According to Shibli it was an "age of ghazals". Shibli Nomani, *Shir -ul-Ajam,* p. 318

69 According to Wheeler Thackston there is nothing particularly about the Indian style, he further says that it would be more accurate to call it High-Period style. For details see Wheeler M. Thackston, "*Literature*" in Zeenut Ziad, ed., *The Magnificent Mughals,*

- The poets of Kashmir have made an exquisite novel use of the commonly observed phenomena in Persian poetic forms in order to derive unperceived moral and spiritual lessons.

MAJOR VOICES FROM KASHMIR DURING THE PERIOD:

A galaxy of native poets and scholars in Persian surfaced during the Mughal period; among the outstanding are Habib-ul-llah Naushahri, Mullah Tahir Gani, Mirza Darab Begh, Aslam Saleem, Mirza Begh Akmal, Mullah Mazhai Kashmiri, Mullah Muhammad Taufiq, Mullah Zihni Kashmiri, Mullah Nadimi, Mullah Mohsin Fani, Mullah Zaman Nafi, Ashraf, Fitrati, Tayib, Sati, Arif, Malik Haider, Muhammad Riza Mushta, Najmi, Kamil, Baba Nasib-ud-Gazi, Divanshah Adhar and Narayan Koul Ajaz.[70] It must, however, be remembered that some modern scholars of Kashmir like Abdul Majid Matoo, Abdul Qadir Sarwari and the

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Karachi, OUP, 2002, p. 94. However, important to mention here that the Indian style soon surpassed (to say with the ascendery of Mughal emperor Akbar on the throne of India) the Iranian style, and to visit India was considered mandatory for attaining perfection in poetry and for honoured position; here is a verse from Sa'ib showing the importance of Hindustan:

Neist dar Iran zamin saman-i tahsil-i kamal
ta nayayad soui Hindustan hina rangin na shud

Iran hardly offers palpable means for achieving perfection;
Until it finds its way to India.

Aysh miran javidan k-andar zirangistiin-i hind,
dari asbab-i tana umbar lubb-i lubab

Lead lives of endless pleasure; India's land of delight
Makes enjoyment's finest means available.

In the words of Kalim:

Zi shouq-I Hind San Chashm Hasrat bar Kafa Daram
Ki roham ghar bara aram nami be nam makabil ra

Drawn by love and fondness for India, I look back with such intense
longing that even if I set my face unto the road nothing meets my eye.

[70] The authors of *Waqat-i-Kashmir* and *Tawarikh-i-Hasan* had provided a list of other luminaries of Kashmir who flourished during the Mughal period. For the biographical sketch of these scholars see G.M. D Sufi, Kashir, Vol., II, pp. 440-465; Tikku, *op.cit.;* See also chapter on sources.

others had included Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (d. 1594), Baba Daud Khaki (d. 1586), and many other poets as the products of the Mughal literary culture, which is not correct as they practically belonged to the Sultanate period rather than that of the Mughals.[71]

In the light of the above features, here is a brief notice of some of the native poets who were known for their desperate ideas. The two, Hubbi and Ghani mentioned below are among those, who unlike the usual practice of the age shunned the company of the rich men and declined the offers from the royal Durbar but in fact they too were somehow influenced by the cosmopolitanism of the age.

HABIB-UL-LLAH GHANAI (AD 1555-1617), nom de plume 'Hubbi', son of a grocer was born in 1555 AD in Naushahra, Srinagar. He had his early education in Arabic and Persian from Mullah Hasan Afaqi. Soon he was drawn to mysticism and joined the group of *dervishes* founded by the disciples of Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi.[72] *Tanbihul Quloob*, and *Raht-ul-Quloob* were his most valuable works on Sufism.[73] His poetry is dominated by the mystical love and also shows his inclination towards the philosophy of Ibn Arabi and Ain ul-Quzat (*wahadat al- wajud*-pantheism), a favourite theme of his poetry. Here is a verse in which he reveals his mood of union with ultimate reality-[74]

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[71] Abdul Majid Matto, *op.cit*, p. 168; Abdul Qadir Sarwari, *Kashmir Mai Farsi Adab ki Tarikh*, pp. 52-74. Shaikh Yaqub Ghanai Sarfi was born in 928 A.H (1561 AD) at Srinagar; he became *Hafiz-I Qalam-ul-llah* at the age of seven. Sarfi was the disciple of Mullah Basir, Mohammad Ani, Maulana Abdul Rahim Jami and Maulana Mirza Rizi-ud-din. The most important works written by Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi (1521-1595) are: *Maslak al Akhyar, Laila wa Majnun, Khamsa, Wamiq wa 'uzra, Maghaz al- Nabi, Maqama-i-Murshid* [all are Masnaivi's (narrative verse)]. He also wrote *Risala-i-Zikriyya* (a prose) *Kanz al Jawahir*, *Tafsir-i-Du parah Akhyer Quran*, etc. For details see G. L. Tikoo, *Persian Poetry in Kashmir*, pp. 48-83.

Shaikh Baba Da'ud Khaki, a prolific writer was born in Kalash Pora Srinagar wrote Dastur-al-Salikin, Wirid-al-Muridin (Incantation for the Disciples), Qasidah Lamiyya, Qasidah Jalaliyya, Qasidah Gusliyya Yusuf Shahi, Qasidah Zaruriyya and Risala-i Kamal Namai Ikhwan *etc.* Bazaz, *op.cit.*, pp. 94-95. For details see G. R. Jan, *Jamia Kamalat i- Hazrat Ishan, Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi*, Book Media, Srinagar, 1995. See also G. L. Tikoo, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-83

[72] Cf. G. L. Tikoo, *op.cit.* pp. 48-83.

[73] Sufi, *op.cit*, p. 200; See also *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, p. 132

[74] Cf. Moti Lal Saqi, *Soan Adab*, pp. 258-259

Adam-I farzand-I Adam deedaam,
Mardam-I chashme du aalam yaftam.
Cheest alam cheest adam yak wajood,
Dar haqeeket hardu aalam yaftam.
Taahire aan aarde aten haq ast,
Balkie ieen du harfe mudgam yaftam.

Sons of Adam as people see him, but the enlightened perceive entire universe in him.
What is man and what is the universe, in reality I found both as one.
Pure he is to perceive the ultimate, but I discovered both rolled in one.

Again:

Man fana i yaftam kaz vay adam namahram ast,
Ham baqa i yaftam kaz vay adam namahram ast.
Dar harim-i vahdat in kathrat buvad bigana-i,
Vahdat u kathrat hama dar an haram namaharam ast.[75]

I have found obliteration (fana), of which non existence is unaware,
I have found an eternality (baqa) of which no trace is known.
In the asylum (harim) of Unity, Duality is an alien,
Unity and Duality are both unaware of that asylum (harim).

Now listen to his spiritual master Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi:[76]

O Sarfi! What benefit are you going to gain from the pilgrimage?
If Kaba, temple and tavern are not identical with you.
O Sarfi! As on every side a ray has fallen from His face to light the night,
Impossible it is for you to say that Somnath has not the Kaba's light.

Again:

Be it Kaba or Somnath, thou art the Deity,
Wherever the head bows, it bows to Thee.
Other than Thee, none can praise Thee,
Thou are the Praiser and the Praised in the world.

The same message and the general mistrust of mere formalism and dogmatism in religious matters which the poets of the Mughal period generally emphasised are identifiable in Hubbi as:[77]

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75 Mir Habibullah Kamil, ed. *Diwan-i- Hubbi*, Srinagar, 1962, f. 13a

76 Mir Habibullah Kamil, ed. *Diwan-i-* Sarfi, Srinagar, n.d, p. 250, 2 (line 5 and 2 respectively)

77 *Diwan-i- Hubbi*, f. 3a

Amrat kudam amir u mamur ham kudam
Dar vahdatat chi fa ida naf u thabat ra
Yak banda-I jamal u digar banda-i jalal
An yak girift kaba digar Sumnat ra

What is the difference between the Command, the Commander and the Executor of thy command? What is thy purpose of negation and assertion in thy Unity?
One is a slave to Beauty, another to glory; one adores the Kaba, the other Somnath.

In the same frame of mind and spirit, the Mughal court poets Urfi, and Abul Fazl's poet brother Faizi (1547-95) said:[78]

Chiragh-i Somnat ast atish-i Tar
buwad zan harjihat ra nar dar nar

The lamp of Somnath is (the same as) the fire at the Sinai [mountain *tur*],
The light spreads all around from that.

Biya ki rui ba mihrab-gah-i nau ba-nihim
Bina-i Ka'ba-i digar ze sang-i tur nihim [79]

Come, turn our face toward a new alter
We take stones from the Sinai [mountain *tur*] and build a new Ka'ba

Next to 'Hubbi' in mysticism was **MUHAMMAD ASLAM** (d. 1718)**,** *nom de plume* **"Salim".**[80] Here are few verses which clearly illustrate it:[81]

Umar-o hashat zada aahvi biyabani hast,
Roz va shab nargis shahlihe hast

Life is like the frightened deer of a desert,
Day and night are like the black and white narcissus of a garden.

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78 Abul Faizi, *Diwan*, ed. A. D. Arshad, Lahore, 1362 A H, p. 470. Here is also a verse from Naziri:

Tera ba kaba mera kar badal Iftad ast

ba kaba but kada man muqabal Iftad ast

79 Urfi Shirazi, Diwan, Kanpur, 1915, p. 44.

80 Saleem was a disciple of Shaikh Muhsin Fani, a scholar of eminence, so the impact of master on his poetry is understandable. For his life history see Khwaja Azam Didamari, *Waqat-i Kashmir*, pp. 209-212; Hassan Khoihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, IV, pp. 28-30.

81 G. L. Tikku, ed. *Parsi Sarayan-i Kashmir*, Tehran, 1963, pp. 96-100

Hardam rah fanai tu kotah tur shod
Umar ast rishta-h kah nafas peech va tab aavast

Every moment your annihilation (fana) comes nearer,
Life is a thread and a breath its twists and knots.

Buvud hamisha ishrat-i falak bakam-i dilam,
Ki kar-i har ki kunad ruzgar kar-i man ast

The joy of heavens is always to the liking of my heart,
Because fulfilment of another's desire is fulfilment of my own.

The greatest poet who made significant contribution to Persian language in Kashmir is **MULLAH MOHAMMAD TAHIR,** *nom de plume* **"Ghani"** belonged to a respectable Ashai family of Kashmir; was born about 1040 A. H (A.D 1630) with a creative gift which he cultivated under the supervision of a philosopher-poet of the day, Shaikh Muhsin Fani.[82] Abdul Ahad Azad, a revolutionary poet of Kashmir, included him among the three most outstanding figures of whom Kashmir can justly feel proud:

کلہن، غنی تہ صرفی سیدرایے کریا یمی آبن
سے آب شانیہ باپتھ زہر حلال آسیا

The water that brought up Kalhana, Ghani and Sarfi,
Why should the very same water turn to poison for us?

It was Ghani's preference of the device of *tamtheel* or *mithaliah* (allegorical i.e. in which the idea started in first hemistich and the illustration, for it is found in the other) which earned his reputation as the best writer of his age. Unlike the norms, he won fame in his life time not only in India but in Iran as well.[83] Ghani himself refers to this as:

Bi Iran sukhanha raan miravad
Chi Iran sukhan dar jahan miravad

My poetry flows to Iran fast
Not only to Iran, but to all places.

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[82] For full description on Fani, see Sufi, *Kashir,* vol., II, 368-72; Mohammad Ishfani Nasrabadi, *Tadkiri,* Tehran, 1938, pp. 442-450; Bazaz, *op.cit.,* pp. 94-96

[83] *Waqat-i Kashmir*, p. 171; See also G.M. D Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir,* p. 183; P. N. K Bamazi, *op. cit*, p. 573; Bazaz, *op.cit*, p. 97

Being famous sometime, too, can hurt you, Ghani was conscious that his verses are being used by the contemporaries or say to plagiarised without mentioning his name; here is what hard-hearted Ghani laments:[84]

> My peers took my verses,
> Pity though, they didn't take my name.

The apprehension of Ghani on plagiarism got equal support, although very late, from an Iranian immigrant poet, Shaikh Ali Hazin, who was patronised by Mughal Emperor Muhammad Shah (d. 1748). Ali Hazin calls everything Indian plagiarised.[85] It was

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[84] Mulla Muhammad Tahir Ghani, *Divan-e Ghani*, eds., Ali Javad Zaidi and Muhammad Amin, 1964, p. 165

[85] See Valih Daghistani, *Riyazu'sh Shu'ara*, ed., Sharif Husaim Qasemi, Rampur, Riza Library, 2001 [1749] p. 213. In my opinion the greatest poet of declining Mughals-Mirza Asadullah Khan Galib too have copied well know Kashmiri poets, here is a sample:

Abdul Hakim, *nom de plume* "Sati" (d. 1732):

Nukta pardaz agar hast faqir hast imruz
Pish azin ahd shinidam ki Ghani hum budast

If there is an ingenious person in our age it is this humble self,
They say in former times there was a Ghani as well.

Mirza Asadullah Khan Galab (d. 1869):

Rikhta kai tum hi ustad nahi ho galib
Kahtai hai aglay zamani mai koyi Mir b tha

You alone are not the master of rikhta (Urdu), O Galib,
They say in former times there was Mir (Taqi) as well.

Mullah Mohammad Tahir, **nom de plume "Ghani" (d. 1668):**:

Shud rushanam zi sham ki dar bazm-I harifan
Khamush budan marg buad ahl-I zuban ra

The candle enlightened me (informed me) that in the company of co-professionals, Silence brings death to a man of letters.

Mirza Asadullah Khan Galab (d. 1869):

Zuban-I *ahl-I zuban main hai marg khamushi*
Yah baat bazm mai rushan hui zaban-I sham

In the language of men of letters silence is death,
This becomes known to me in the assembly through the talk of candle.

because of Ghani's fame in the Persian poetry and his unique style, Mirza Sa'ib (1601-1669) who was known for his poetical aetiology *(Husn-i-Talil)* and proverbial commission *(Irsal-ul-Masal)* went all the way to Kashmir to make Ghani's acquaintance. According to the Sufi, Mirza Sa'ib presented him his selected verses and was willing to barter away all his *Diwan* for this single couplet of Ghani-[86]

> *Husn sabzi be khat sabz mera kard aseer*
> *Dam hum rang zamin bood giraftar shudam*
>
> The green blow of beauty enmeshed me by its blooming green:
> The snare being the same colour as earth I fell.

The association of Sa'ib with Ghani and its impact on the latter's poetry can be felt from this verse in which Sa'ib mentioned Ghani admiringly-

> O Sa'ib, this ghazal is in reply to the one from Ghani,
> Oh! the memory of those days when the cooking pot of my desire had a covering on its top. [87]

Ghani lived a life of celibacy characterised by a saintly simplicity and austerity. So simple and inartificial was his life style that he lived in a cottage with the barest necessities of life. It is said of Ghani that he left the door and windows of his frugal hut wide open when he went out, and closed and locked them when he was in. When someone asked about the reason for this strange behaviour; he replied that except for Ghani (the only wealth) there is nothing of value in his frugal hut and therefore he had no fear of robbery.[88] Allama Iqbal has immortalized this anecdote in his *Payam-i-Mashriq* as: [89]

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[86] G.M. D Sufi, *op.cit*, p. 186. According to author of *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, Ghani presented his 2000 verses to Mirza Sa'ib. See Azami, *op.cit.,* p. 171

[87] Cf. Shibli Nomani, *Shir -ul-Ajam,* p. 175

[88] Shibli Nomani, *Shir -ul-Ajam,* p. 187

[89] Allama Iqbal, *Payam-i-Mashriq,* p. 120

> When someone asked, O heart alluring poet (Ghani),
> This behaviour of yours astonishes us all.
> How sweet was the answer of the man of God (Ghani),
> Poor in possession and rich in the realm of thought.
> What ever the friends have observed is true,
> Is there anything besides me in the house?

یکی گفت ای شاعر دل رسی - عجب دارد از کار تو هر کسی
بپاسخ چو خوش گفت مرد فقیر - ز فقر و باقلیم معنی امیر
زمن آنچه دیدند یاران رواست - درین خانه جز من متاعی کجاست
غنی تا نشینی به کاشانه اش - متاعی گران است در خانه اش
چو آن شمع محفل افروز در خانه نیست - تهی تر از این هیچ کاشانه نیست

Again, Allama Iqbal paid tribute to this man of God in these words:

شاعر رنگین نوا طاهر غنی
فقر او باطن غنی ظاهر غنی

That poet of colourful times, Tahir Ghani,
His unwordlessness- contentment in and out.

As a poet, Ghani possesses an extraordinary thought and a very fertile brain. In his poetry, as one would expect, self-reliance, self-respect, independence, contentment and his uncompromising stand are notable. He was so self-respecting that he did not wait upon king or his subordinate for any favour.[90] Here are a few verses, which portray his real personality:[91]

> *Khush dualati ast faar ki dar gan anzwa*
> *Farash neist saya-a farash aftab.*
>
> I am proud of my wealth of penury,
> I need not carpet, as the sunlight serves me so.

The cottage becomes really worth only,
When Ghani is a dweller therein.
When the radiance-effulging is not in,
Then no cottage is more barren and desolate than this.

[90] Emperor Aurangzeb Alamgir is said to have instructed the then governor of Kashmir Saif Khan to send poet Ghani to the Imperial court. But Ghani refused to go and asked Saif Khan to report the Emperor Aurangzeb that Gani had turned Lunatic and therefore unfit to attend royal court. However, this was not accepted by the governor, Ghani was so afraid that he might be compelled to leave Kashmir, thus in anger tore the collar of the governor's shirt in the fashion of madman and moved off and then died after three days of this incident. K. A. Irfani, ed., *Iran-i-Saghir*, 1956, p. 65; See also P. N. K Bamazi, *op. cit*, p. 573; G. L. Tikoo, *op.cit.* p. 106; Bazaz, *op.cit*, p. 97

[91] *Divan-e Ghani*, pp. 191, 170, 174, 158, 177

Ghani roz siyahi pir-i kanah ratama shakun
Ki roshan kar de nor deeda ash cheshum zulaikha

Ghani behold the darkened world of the old man of Canaan (Jacob)
As the light of his eyes (Joseph) illumes the eyes of Zulaicha.

Az nami asan-i kas daste talab ra tar makun
Aabiro khawahi banani khushk chu aayinie saz

Moisten not your hand of want with any obligation,
If you want honour be contend with dry bread like the mirror.

Neist shuhrat talab aan ka ki kamal darab
Hargiz angust nama badar na bashad chun hilal

I don't run after fame or of praise of my verse from any one,
Who can deny the full moon grows out of crescent.

Purkun zi aab deeda giryaan suboye khuwaish
Yani miraz bar lab-i joe aaberoie khuwaish

Fill up your cup with the tears from your own eye,
Don't wash your honour on the bank of a stream.

The style of Ghani is subtle and there is at once a profound originality and an artistic beauty. As an alchemist, he adopted and developed a new style in which he skilfully blended both Persian, an alien language, and Kashmiri, his mother tongue, in poetry with much simplicity and precision. He has used Kashmiri words here and there in his poetry. For instance "*Krala pun*", a Kashmiri phrase means 'porter's thread' in the following verse clearly exemplifies this:[92]

> Your waist, as slender as porter's thread, serves to cut off heads from the bodies of your lovers, just as a potter sets free with his thread the earthen-ware from the revolving wheel.

The same trend of using phrases and words from their mother tongue in Persian was followed by other native poets like Saba, Khushdil and number of others. One obvious reason of course was what poet Saalim indicates:[93]

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92 Cf. P. N. K Bamazi, *op. cit*, p. 575

93 *Divan-e Ghani*, p. 206

Dilam b saya gul mie kushad chugal Saalim,
Sar sheta b aab va havayi Kashmiram

My heart Saalim is attracted like the rose to the shadow of flowers,
My (clay) has been kneaded with the air and water of Kashmir.

From the conventional love poetry, a traditional preoccupation of Persian poets and a favourite theme of the Persian poetry, Ghani turned to the problems of life and human behaviour. He took the sufferings of others with the same intensity as he lamented the afflictions of his heart.[94]

Naseebi neist az ahl karam bar gashta bukhtan ra
Ki hargiz par nisaz kasai ghardab dar ra darya

The luck-stricken can receive no share from the generous,
For, the river can never fill the bowl of the whirlpool.

Har ki paband watan shud hi kashad az ar ha
Payi gul ander chaman dayam parast az khar ha

Whosoever is stuck to his home has to undergo hardships,
The foot of the rose in the garden is ever and full of thorns.

Jama kardam musht-i kha sha ke ki sozam khuwaish ra
Gul guman darad ki bandam ashiyan dar gulastan

I collected some trash to burn myself;
Lo! The rose suspected I was planning a nest.

As already said, Ghani was a great allegorist, like the court contemporaries (Mirza Sa'ib and Kalim) he used, almost in every verse, a simile in the second hemistich. His creation of similes and metaphors, to some extent, had made his poetry difficult to comprehend. Ghani's use of similes and other forms had a base and an inspiration in the local environment and the interpretation of the facts observed at first hand. Here we quote such verses, as:

[94] *Divan-e Ghani*, p. 132, 145, 166

Saqi b jam raiz mi purtagal ra
Maha tamam saz yak shab halal ra [95]
O saqi, pour Portuguese wine in my goblet,
Turn the crescent into the full moon in one night.

Ghar az na ashnayie charak sazad zar pul gharqam
Az un behatar ki yabnum rove yaraan sir pal ra

If because of friendlessness the wheel (destiny) drowns me under the bridge,
It would e much better than seeing on the bridge friends.

With magnificent and sublime thoughts, Ghani made a novel use of the commonly observed phenomena and happenings of day to day life. He had permanently invested many things of daily use like needle, thread, mill-stone, lock, key, bridge, etc in his poetry to derive moral and spiritual lessons. Here are a few verses which illustrate this technique:[96]

. *Humchu Sozan dayam az pooshish guraz a niem ma*
Jama behar-i khalq mi doozaim va eur ya niem ma

Like the needle I am ever in flight from the dress,
Sewing clothes for all creation yet keeping myself naked.

Ta bagaqar a faqa khursundar yam Humchu aasaya
Ghar rasad roozi guar khatir-i mami shoud

As I am contented with want and hunger like the mill-stone
Food, even if reached to me, is in form of dust on my heart.

In Ghani's poetry one could see the resplendent thought expressed in pleasingly florid diction both in words and meanings, perhaps it best articulated the all-sided grandeur of the Mughal poetry:[97]

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95 *Divan-e Ghani*, pp. 16, 18; here it is important to note that beyond the narrow confines of traditional poetry of *ashiq-mashooq, gulo-bulbul*, Ghani very interestingly mentioned the foreign element introduced in Kashmir. In the first *she'r*, Ghani refers to wine which was introduced in Kashmir by the Portuguese. In the second *she'r*, he refers to the habit of gathering on bridges for gossip (a social customs of the people of Kashmir, even it is not absent today).

96 *Divan-e Ghani*, p. 85, 129

97 *Divan-e Ghani*, p. 10; For discussion on the Mughal poetry see Muzaffar Alam, The Pursuit of Persian: Language in Mughal Politics, *Modern Asian Studies,* Vol. 32, No. 2

Jalwa-i husn-i tu awurd mara bar sar-i fikr
tu hina basti wa man mani-ye ranqin bastam

With the brilliance of your beauty I began to think
You applied the henna and I created the colourful meaning

Another poet of great eminence, next to that of Ghani, in *gazal* writing, was **MIRZA DARAB BEIG,** *nom de plume* **"Juya** (seeker)**",** this one was known mainly for using Hindi words and similes in his Persian poetry. In Juya, we found a total contrast of Ghani; unlike Ghani, who never moisten his palm with court favours nor did he write in praise or condemn any dignitary; Juya is thought to have attracted the patronage of Aurangzeb, and uses his poetry both for praise and condemnation. [98] While the former was proud of his poverty, dejection, his piety, and considers the poetry as a "trust from God"; the later had no such lofty pretensions about the functions of poetry.[99] However, like Ghani, Juya was highly conscious of the merit of his poetry and had unflinching faith in power of words that had the potential of producing meaning worth not less than a pearl. Here are verses from both:

Ghani: [100]

Aab-i bud mani roshan Ghani,
Khab agar basta shoud gowhar ast.

Like crystal water the meaning in [my] verse is perceptible
But if the dream remains concealed becomes pearl in the shell.

(May, 1998), pp. 317-349; Shamsur Rahman Faruqi, Stranger in the City: The Poetics of *Sabk-i Hindi.*

98 For his biographical sketch, see Mohammad Baqir, *Ahwal-u Athar-I Juya-yi Tabrazi*, Punjab University Publication, Lahore, 1945. The Hindi words used by the poet (quoted by *Tikku*, p. 121) are *ji* (sir), *kacha* (raw), *kanval* (lotus), *pan* (betel leaf) etc. He is also said to have composed a gazal on Punjabi jatti (village girl), here is a verse:

Dil mibaradam ghuncha-i khandan-i tu jatti
Jan midihadam khanda-yi pinhan-i tu jatti

Your blooming bud robs me of my life, o jatti!
Your hidden smile gives me life, o jatti.

99 He considers poetry as "an acquired art". G. L. Tikoo, *op.cit.* p. 120;

100 *Divan-e Ghani*, pp. 84, 99, 114

Zi she'r man shud poshida fasal va Danish man,
Chu maava ki bimanand ba zair barg nahan

My verses enshroud my learning and my wisdom,
Like the leaves that hide the fruit.

Mani saaf ki dhar alfaz-i bad ast
Hast aayena saaf ki iaahaan wan a muda ast

The meaning may not be clear in the mould of words,
The pure mirror makes different shapes at the same time.

Juya: [101]

Shokh tabaan chu sovada badlat gayi dehand
Baski Juya sukhankhaie tu randanah shud ast

O Juya, because of your sweet nuances of speech
The jovial shall give you a place in the core of their heart

Az zur-i tab bigrift mulk-i sukhanari ra
Juya ba kishvar-i Hind tuti yi khushnaviist

Juya, the sweet singing parrot of India, has conquered,
The land of eloquence by the power of his erudition.

In these verses, however, one can see the difference as well; Ghani who was considered as a model by the poets like Sa'ib and Kalim, acknowledged the rise and fall of his verses (a natural truth) but Juya had loftier view of his personality and poetry.

To sum up, a brief analysis of the language and literature of the Mughal period in Kashmir, the following inferences can be drawn:

- From long antiquity, due to intimate contacts, both commercial and cultural, between Central Asia and Kashmir, the Persian culture influenced Kashmir and when the fortune seekers, traders and men of letters (Persian speaking people) continuously seek refuge in Kashmir, and became rulers of the land, the Persian language gradually displaced Sanskrit as the official language.

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101 Mohammad Baqir, *Ahwal-u Athar-I Juya-yi Tabrazi,* p. iv-viii (introduction)

- Due to patronage from rulers (Shah Miri Sultans, the Chaks and the Mughals) Persian language flourished beyond imagination. It became an official language or to say a language of royal courts and a language of intellectual and academic debates.
- Kashmiri language has never enjoyed the position of a literary medium or it never got the status of an official language. Because of the lack of Mughal patronage to the local languages, Kashmiri literature did not develop to the extent it could have been. The great sons of soil chose Persian language in order to reach the larger audience.
- Last but not the least, the chief features of the Persian works, both in prose and verse, composed by the Kashmiri scholars and poets, may include the mystic trend, lucid style, verse of high order and portrayal of the natural beauty of the land.

CHAPTER-6

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Fate augments the happiness of men by increasing the crops.

Srivara Pandita, Jainatarangini

EXTENT OF CULTIVATION

To begin with, the important feature of the Kashmir economy was/is its highly agrarian character. Due to the mountainous character of the valley of Kashmir and the restrictions imposed by the physical environment, the area of the land cultivated out of the total geographical area remained very small.[1] In the 16th century, Akbar's great statistician, Abul-Fazl in the *Ain* roughly calculates the entire area of the Valley as hundred twenty *Kos* in the length and ten to twenty five *Kos* in breadth.[2] However, the author of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* believed it to be in between fifty six to sixty seven *Kos* in length and only two *Kos* in breadth.[3] The author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* records that during the Mughal rule, the total area of the Valley was five thousand one hundred and four *gumaons*.[4] One *gumaon* meant a plot of land measuring eight *kanals* or two *bighas*; in this way the total area of Kashmir roughly calculated is forty thousand, eight hundred thirty two square *kanals* or ten thousand two hundred eight square *bighas*. Out of the total land, states Jahangir, three-fourth was mountainous and only one-fourth was arable.[5] It means, thus, very small

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1 Majid Husain, well known geographer of Kashmir, rightly remarks that "the agricultural processes of a region are directly controlled by the prevailing physical environmental condition (temperature, precipitation, terrain, soil) and the socio-cultural milieu (land tenancy, size of holding, technology, work force, family requirements, irrigation, power, roads, marketing, aspirations of the growers, etc.)".

2 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol., II, Eng., trans., H. S. Jarrett, p. 351. Kos was a unit of measurement equal to 5000 yards and according to G. T. Vigne, Akbar's kos was comprised of 2 miles though a kashmiri kos was made of a mile and three quarters only. Cf. Mushtaq A. Kaw, *The Agrarian System of Kashmir*, p. 44

3 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, Eng. Trans., Alexander Roger, p.298

4 Hasan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Persian Ms., Vol., I, Srinagar, ff. 56a; The statistical information recorded in the nineteenth century *Tarikh-i-Kalan* shows that the total area sown was about 460120 acres. *Tarikh-i-Kalan*, pp. 1-60

5 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Alexander Rogers, vol. II, pp.146-147

area of land was under cultivation, say, roughly to be ten thousand, two hundred eight square *kanals* or two thousand five hundred fifty square *bighas*.

The bulk of its population lived in villages; naturally they took to agriculture as their means of livelihood. However, we are handicapped to give a precise estimation of the Kashmir's population, as hardly any Census has been done in the medieval Kashmir. However, we are fortunate to have many direct and indirect references through which we can deduce the number. The country had a "numerous population" and was "thickly populated".[6] The author of *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, states that during Jahangir's reign the population of the Kashmir *subah* was 19, 43 033 including 90,400 infantry and 4890 cavalry.[7]

Apart from this stray reference, our sources are silent, however to measure roughly the density of population, one can gauge it from the land revenue realized from the valley of Kashmir. From the revenue statistics given by Abul-Fazl in *Ain-i-Akbari*, one finds that the revenue realised from the Maraj district was larger than the Kamraj district.[8] Maraj district consists of twenty-two Mahals, yielded revenue 1,792,819 Kharwars equivalent to 35,796,122 ½ dams i.e. Rs.894, 903; whereas the Kamraj district containing sixteen Mahals, yielded revenue 1,218,799 *Kharwars*, 12 *traks*, equivalent to 26,316,918 *dams* i.e. Rs 657,922-15-2.[9] Similarly, in the Maraj district, Pargana Vihi yielded more than both Brang and Itch (Yetch in *Ain*) Parganas. Wular Pargana yielded more than Phak, Kuther or Mattan. In the Pargana south-east of Srinagar, Adwin yielded the largest amount of revenue; Nagam came next and Verinag in the last. In the Kamraj

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6 Abul-Fazl, *op.cit*, Vol., II, p. 353 and Zafar Nama, p. 177-8 cited from Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 252

7 Pir Ghulam Hasan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., I, Urdu Trans., Sharif-ud-din Qasimi, Ali Mohammad and Sons, p. 336

8 The Suba of Kashmir was broadly divided into two administrative divisions with Srinagar as the point of demarcation between two. The Madavarajya (Maraj) and Kramarajya (Kamraj) denote the area lying above and below Srinagar respectively. Ain-i-Akbari, Vol., II, pp. 367-68. See also M. M. William, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Moti Lal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1984, p. 319

9 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, Eng., Trans., H.S. Jarett, pp. 368-369

district, Kohem yielded highest revenue and Bangil followed very closely; Inderkot contributed the least.[10]

Keeping in view the above information, therefore, the following conclusions can be drawn-that the area lying above Srinagar (Maraj district) as more populous than the area below (Kamraj) and in district Maraj, the *pargana's* of Vihi, Wular, and Adwin were comparatively more dense in population than the rest of the Parganas. However, in the Kamraj district, the *parganas* of Krohen and Bangil, were more populous than the rest.[11]

Regarding the exact number of the villages, it is difficult to say with certainty as it has been variously estimated. According to the estimate of Masudi (11th Century), the number of villages in the valley stood in between 60,000 to 70,000, while according to Sharafu'din Yazdi (14th century), the whole province including plains and mountains together contained around 100, 000 villages.[12] The figures given by Al-Musadi and Sharafu'din Yazdi can't be taken as authentic as they never visited Kashmir. However, on the basis information furnished by Ksemendra, Jona Raja, Mirza Haider Daughlat and the others, the number of villages during the Sultanate period, must have been in between 60,000 and 70,000.[13] On the basis of this evidence Prof. Mohibbul Hasan has inferred that there would have been the same number, during the early Mughal period.[14]

The figure given by these Pre-Mughal sources seems to be an exaggerated one when compared with Mughal sources and it seems strange that the renowned scholar accepted it without proper scrutiny of the data. According to one contemporary estimate the total number of villages numbered three thousand two hundred seventy nine during Emperor Akbar's reign and four thousand during Emperor Shah Jahan's reign; and it was

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10 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, P. N. K Bamzai, *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol., II, p. 477

11 P. N. K Bamzai, *The Cultural and Political History of India*, 2 vols.,Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003, Vol., II, p. 477.

12 Cf. Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p.252

13 Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, Eng. Trans. from Persian, N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, *"A History of Mughals of Central Asia"*, Renaissance Publishing House, Delhi, reprinted 1986, p. 430

14 Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*, p.252

five thousand three hundred fifty two under Emperor Aurangzeb respectively.[15] According to the administrative manual of the early 19th century, there were 2,564 villages in Kashmir.[16] Similarly, twentieth century settlement commissioner records the number as 2594.[17]

The other constraint, because of the absence of precise data, is the number of dwellings in each village and the actual number actively involved in the agricultural operations. However, according to Kaw, in one village, Sonamarg there were fifty to sixty houses. If this figure is believed to be true, the total strength of the houses in all the three thousand two hundred seventy nine villages, as stated above, must have been around one lakh, eighty five thousand and eight hundred forty five. And each house registered, more or less, a family strength of ten individuals.[18] Kaw's presumption holds sound, as there are few other places like Awri, Chahkothi, Chakar and Danah which contained forty to fifty houses.[19] These figures reveal that there were, on an average, 50 houses in each village.

The description available to us from different literary texts tells that out of total land, three-fourth was mountainous and only one-fourth was arable.[20] The cultivation for the purpose of agriculture was possible only during the summer season. However, because of the climatic conditions, the valley used to produce all the crops in that one season alone. Thus, on the basis of agricultural produce, we find the reference of different types of agricultural land in the valley. The author of the *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, has classified all the land of Kashmir into four categories: (i) artificially irrigated land (*abi)*; (ii)

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15 Amal-i-Salih, Vol., II, p. 25; Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, pp. 4-5 *Majmuat-Tawarikh*, pp. 13-15;

16 For details see Tarikh-i-Kalan, *op.cit*, pp. 1-60.

17 See Walter Lawrence, The Valley of Kashmir, Katib Ghar, Srinagar, 1996, pp. 223-225

18 This is to be calculated by drawing a mean of 50 and 60 houses and then multiplied with the number of villages during the reign of the Akbar. Cf. Mushtaq A Kaw, op.cit, p. 55; Based on the Lawrence's estimate then it would be 3279 multiplied by 33 would be 1, 08, 207 and the strength per house was 7, then it means 757449 total population

19 Mirza Saif-ud-Din, *Khulasatu-t-Tawarikh,* Urdu trans., Mirza Kamal-ud-Din Shaida, Srinagar, December, 1984, pp. 258-59.

20 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Alexander Rogers, vol. II, pp.146-147

naturally irrigated land (*lamli)*; (iii) gardens *baghi* land; and (iv) level lands which were uncultivated, owing to excessive moisture (*nambal*).[21]

The crops cultivated in these types of lands, differed from one another according to the relative fertility, irrigation facilities, and the quality of the soil. The *abi* land mainly depended on water, procured from comparatively permanent sources of irrigation like springs, canals, lakes and the rivers. So, Paddy cultivation was done in this type of land, as it needed more regular water supply. The given sources of water were usually conducted by means of embanked earthen canals and the springs available everywhere. The second category of the land was *Lamli*; it was artificially watered or depended upon periodical rains for irrigation. The cultivation of secondary crops like wheat, barley, maize, millet, etc. was possible in this type of land.[22] The next type was *Baghi land*, as its name suggests that it was primarily meant for the fruit cultivation; mainly it includes the *karewas* or the plain land which did not yield much. It was meant for the cultivation of the fruits.[23] The fourth type was *Nambal* land which was boggy and unfit for cultivation; the land remained flooded during the rains, and remains somewhat moist even after the water dried up. The example of such type of land can be found in village *Tulmulla*, says Abul Fazl.[24]

In addition to these four types, there was also another type of cultivable land, known as floating gardens, which the author of *Tarikh-i- Rashidi* has not mentioned whereas other contemporary authorities of the period do mention about this type of land. Abul Fazl, who visited Kashmir during the reign of Emperor Akbar, speaks of the existence of a large number of such islands on the surface of Dal Lake, which produced

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21 Mirza Haider Dughlat, *Tarikh –i- Rashidi*, Eng. Trans., E. Denison Ross and N. Elias, p.425.

On the bases of richness of soil the author of Tarikh-i-Hasan divides the plain of Kashmir into three categories-flat and level land, mountain passes and foot hill of the mountain and the kerawas. Hasan Khuihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., I, pp. 98-99 However, slight difference is found in the accounts of Firishta and Azam. For example Mirza Dughlat called the fourth kind of land as *nambal,* while, Azam and Firishta called it as *mai-dani.*

22 Abul-Fazl, *Akbar Nama,* Eng. Trans., H. Beveridge, Vol., III, p.828; See also *Ain-i-Akbari,* p.352.

23 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Alexander Rogers, vol. II, pp.146-147.

24 Abul-Fazl, *Akbar Nama,* Eng. Trans., H. Beveridge, Vol., II, p 364.

some naturally grown food for the people and fodder for the cattle.[25] Moreover, one comes across information regarding the *Uftada* land i.e. unploughed type of land, which was found in almost every village of the valley, earmarked for grazing purposes For example, pargana Beeru exemplified such pasture ground, the grass of which contained fattening properties. [26]

From the above categorization of lands, it seems that very small but good quantity of land, was available for agricultural production. According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, the valley was highly fertile, with its fertile soil and abundance of water supply it has always been famous for its agricultural products and it has been producing sufficient food to support its inhabitants. [27]

MEANS OF IRRIGATION

Agriculture in the valley of Kashmir virtually depended on the irrigation and to provide the facilities had always been one of the pre-occupations of the state since very early times. And it was, as believed by the father of modern economics, Adam Smith, that state had many functions, among them one was the construction and maintenance of public works.[28] This prime factor happened to be the pivot of the state economy and a major contributor to the royal treasury as well. It is, therefore, not surprising that Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, although being a political narrative, provides the details of the construction of canals in ancient Kashmir.[29] The water for irrigation of entire land including the *udars* was sent out by the snowy peaks through innumerable channels of water. It was, as says Bernier, due to the abundance of water, the villages and hamlets were transformed into fertile and highly cultivated tracts. He has also described how the streams coming down from the surrounding mountains were "conducted by means of embanked earthen channels even to the top of numerous hillocks" in the valley, thereby

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[25] Abul-Fazl, *op.cit*, Vol., II, p. 348.

[26] Abul-Fazl, *op.cit,* pp. 830-831

[27] *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, Eng. Trans., E. Denison Ross and N. Elias, p.430.

[28] For details see M. Mufakharul Islam, *Irrigation Agriculture and the Raj: Punjab, 1887-1947,* Manohar Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi: 1997, p. 18.

[29] For details see Kalhana, *Rajatarangini,* Eng., trans., M. A. Stein, Vol., 1, Motilal Banarasdass, New Delhi, 1989, pp. 17, 151, 48, 49, 317

enabling the inhabitants to irrigate the fields of rice.[30] Nevertheless, the canal irrigation was almost common throughout the province. In spite of the natural barriers, the mountains which surround the valley were storehouse of water. The Jhelum and its tributaries and a network of streams and rivulets provided water to the fields of the *subah* and constituted the major drainage network of the Kashmir Valley. River Jhelum actually rose from the spring of Verinag and flowed in north-westerly direction through Srinagar into the Wular Lake and beyond, before crossing through the Baramulla gorge into the Pakistan. It received water from different rivers like Arapat, Bring, Sandren, Lidder, Veshau, Rembaira, Dudganga, Sind and Pohru at different junctions from Islamabad (Anantnag) to Baramulla.[31]

The earliest evidence of the construction of canals goes back to the Suvarnamahkulya (modern Sonaman *kul*) which was constructed by king *Suvarna,* who ruled Kashmir before emperor Ashoka.[32] This canal, as put by Anand Kaul, still brings water to a great part of the Advin Pargana.[33] After Raja Suvarna, Damodar-II built *dam* "Gudd suth" in order to bring water to his newly constructed town;[34] he also built long stone lined dykes to guard against inundation.[35] King Raja Baka also founded the Bakavati canal.[36]

However, the credit goes to Lalitaditya (A.D724-761) who initiated several schemes for the development of irrigation. Besides construction of Martand canal, he made special arrangements for the irrigation of *Cakradara* (modern Tsakadar below Vijibror) by lifting water from river Jhelum through the erection of the water-wheels (*agarhata*).[37]By this progressive measure taken by the king, large area of land was brought under cultivation. After the Lalitaditya it was king Avantivarman (A.D 855-

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30 Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p.396

31 *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh*, pp. 405-06

32 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini,* Eng., trans., M. A. Stein, Vol., 1, p, 17

33 Pandit Anand Kaul, *Geography of the Jammu and Kashmir State,* light and life Publishers, New Delhi, introduction, xxx-xxxi

34 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, M. A. Stein, p. 29

35 *Ibid*., p. 29

36 *Ibid*., p. 49

37 *Ibid*, p. 141-42

883), founder of the Utpala dynasty which according to Kalhana, "made different streams with their waves which are the quivering tongues, move about according to his will, just as a conjurer moves the snakes."[38] He also changed the course of the Jhelum and the Sindhu in such a manner that the irrigation of dry and barren lands became possible.[39]

Out of the ordinary development, canal building occurred during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (A.D 1420-1470). And it was, as quotes Jonaraja, "there was not a piece of land, and not a forest, where the king did not excavate a canal."[40] Whatever land irrigating canals, we have extant, were more or less, constructed by this generous Sultan. He developed the irrigation system by making a number of tanks, canals and dams. The canals constructed by him were: - The Martand Canal, Shah Kuhl or *Safapur Kanal*, Lar Kuhl or *Pohur*, Zaingir Kuhl, Lal Kuhl, Lachman Kuhl or Zaina Ganga, and Mar Canal.[41]

During the period under review, some canals were also constructed in Kashmir, but it seems that the primary purpose was the beautification of the pleasure gardens and not irrigation. It was the subadar of Emperor Akbar, Yousf Khan Razvi (1587-93), who built a canal which connected a stream known as *Nullah Sindh* with *Bagh-i-illahi*. Jahangir showed considerable interest in the improvement of irrigation system for the benefit of the tiller of soil in the valley. He constructed a canal for Shalimar garden and Asif Khan (brother of Nur Jahan) built another for Nishat Garden.[42]

The system of *Mir-i-ab* was introduced and over every main channel, there was a *Mirab,* one of the villagers, to render necessary repairs to the channels and to call out the labour. The system of distribution was rough and simple, but it had the advantage that quarrels between villagers rarely arose and quarrels between cultivators of the same village never happened. To avoid the disputes among the villagers on account of water distribution, Jahangir laid down the rule that the upper villages which had no local spring and lower villages which received no over flow from the upper villages were entitled to a

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[38] Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, p. 199

[39] Pandit Anand Kaul, op.cit, p. xxxii

[40] Jonaraja, *Jaina Rajatarangini*, Eng., trans., J. C. Dutt, p. 140.

[41] For details see Mir Abdul Rahman, *Kashmir mai Abpashi* (Urdu), p. 115; Mohibbul Hassan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, pp. 84-86; N. K. Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin of Kashmir*, p. 130n

[42] Abdul Majid Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, 1586-1752, pp.39-40.

share of irrigation from the main canal.[43] During the reign of Emperor Jahangir, an old canal *Lachamakul* were repaired and widened under the supervision of Malik Haider (*Rais-i-Chaugtai*);[44] a tank was built by Iradat Khan[45] and Harvan canal was laid out for watering Nur Afza Bagh at the cost of 30000 rupees.[46] Zakir kul was expanded to provide water to the gardens of Naseem Bagh and Bag-i-Aesh Abad.[47]

The Badshahi Canal was channelized to provide water to gardens of Noor Bagh and Mula Akhoon (Malshahi bagh).[48] Governor Zaffar Khan (A.D 1632-40) dug a canal for his garden Bagh-i-Zaffarabad. Saif Khan also dug a canal on the Sind *Nala* to facilitate water to the Lashkar Khan's Garden.[49] Emperor Shahjahan let a canal be run out of an older one to Asaf's garden *Baghi-i- Nishat*, but on the condition that water previously available for irrigation for villages from the parent canal, was not reduced.[50] Prince Dara Shukoh is said to have ordered for the widening of a canal, which could supply water to a pleasure garden constructed at village Pinjbrara.[51] Also, under the supervision of Malik Haider from the Verinag spring, a canal was channelized to provide water to Shah-Abad (Verinag) garden.[52] A canal was dug out by the governor, Ali Murdan Khan (1651 AD), initiating from *Tel bal pargana*; the canal runs along the hill

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43 Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, pp.323-24.

44 Khawaja Mohammad Azam Didamari, *Waqat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu trans., Zahoor Ahmad Shaada, Sheikh Mohammad Usman and Sons, Srinagar, 2005, p. 277. Few small canals were taken out from LachmaKul to feed the pleasure gardens viz. Bagh-i-Ilahi, Bagh-i-Bahrara, Bagh-i-Gulshan, Darshani Bagh, Bagh-i-Inayat and Zafarabad. Hassan Shah Khuihami. Op. cit, Vol. 1, p. 142.

45 A magnificent palace with a tank and a minaret, was built by Iradat Khan in the reign of Jahangir altogether the buildings here cost Rs 1, 50,000. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 317.

46 Abdul Majid Matoo, *op.cit*, pp.39-40

47 Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, I, Urdu trans., Sharaf-ud-din, p.359, 356

48 *Ibid*, p. 357; See also Abdul Rehman Mir, *Kashmir Mein Abpashi*, Shaheen Publishers, Srinagar 1981, pp. 33-34.

49 *Ibid.*, p. 33-34 The garden and canal dug by Zafar Khan does not exist today.

50 Pir Ghulam Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, I, p. 292 cited from Irfan Habib, op.cit, p. 39; See also Abdul Majid Matoo, *op.cit*, pp.39-40

51 Abdul Hamid Lahori, *op.cit.*, Vol., I, pp. 49-50

52 *Ibid*, p. 359

and finally falls into *Tel bal* stream after irrigating the garden laid by Ali Murdan Khan.[53] Outside the Srinagar, a canal was dug at Anantnag from river Burengi, which irrigates large area and is still used as a source of irrigation.[54]

Besides the irrigation which is derived from the mountain streams, there is an important auxiliary supply from the numerous springs of Kashmir. Most of the interior land beneath the *kerawas* or the foot hills was irrigated by the spring water. In the vicinity of the town Brang *[Bring]*, there was a large spring which irrigated around five villages of the said *pargana*.[55] But the spring water was not considered suitable for irrigation as it had two drawbacks. The spring water is always cold, and it does not carry with it the fertilising silt which is brought down by the mountain streams, but in its place brings down a scum which is considered bad for rice.[56] The water for the cultivation of the variety of the vegetables was often procured from the wells dug for the purpose and the table lands mostly depended on the rain on which fruit cultivation was done.

However, to say, they (Mughals) did not contribute much to the construction of canal building process as started by the Pre-Mughal rulers, but according to Bamzai, "their love for gardens and springs resulted in building of tanks around the springs and of water channels to feed the fountains and cascades, which resulted incidently in increasing the irrigation facilities for the cultivators."[57] Also the availability of water everywhere does not hinder in the way of progress; the villages and hamlets were transformed into fertile and highly cultivated tracts.[58]

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

The agricultural implements used in the process of cultivation were of simple construction. The important implement plough was light and made of superior wood like mulberry, ash and apple. The ploughshare is tipped with iron, a wooden mallet used for

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53 Khwaja Muhammad Azam Diddamari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, J&K Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001, p. 292

54 G. T. Vigne, *Op. cit*, Vol., I, p. 342

55 Abul Fazl, *The Ain-i- Akbari*, Eng. Trans. H. S. Jarrett, p. 357.

56 Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 324.

57 P. N. K. Bamzai, op.cit, p. 498

58 Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, p.396

cold breaking, and (*kuran)* wooden spade with an iron tip, and a *hoe* is also used to extract weeds and to loosen soil.[59] The other implements were *yoke, derat* (sickle), *tbar* (axe), *chaj* (winnowing basket), *kreel* etc. With few exceptions like sickle, spade, hoe, the implements were made up of wood and required more human and cattle labour to work.[60] What is interesting to know is that all these implements were manufactured locally by carpenters (*chhan*) and iron smiths (*ahangar*). They are indispensable component of village social structure; they were remunerated in kind at the time of the harvest.[61]

To raise these crops, the ploughing was done three to four times and all Kashmiris believed remarks Lawrence, that "the greater the number of ploughing, the greater will be the outcome of the crop"[62].Ploughing[63] was carried out with the help of a pair of oxen bound to yoke. The wooden mattock with a long handle was used for breaking the clods of earth which was managed generally by women.[64] The fields were manured as far as possible for every crop, as it was available at the disposal of the peasants and it was usually put in the fields before sowing.[65]

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59 Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 324-25. see also sir Francis Younghusband, Kashmir, City Book Centre, Srinagar, reprint, 2008, p. 109; Abdul Majid Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, p. 41; Mushtaq A. Kaw, *The Agrarian System of Kashmir*, p. 65

60 A wooden spade with the sharp edge tipped with iron was employed for planting the seeds. Abul-Fazl, *Ain,* II, p. 172; Lawrence, *op. cit*., p. 325.

61 S.D.S. Chark, *History and Culture of Himalayan States,* Vol., IV, pp.37-38; See also Sukhwant Singh, *Technological Breakthrough and Peasant Enterprise*, Manpreet Prakashan, Delhi, 2002, pp. 38-39

62 Walter Lawrence, *op.cit,* p. 325

63 According to *Gulzar-i-Kashmir,* Kashmir Plough (*albain*) has these important parts *Kurheit, phaal, wangin*, *yepiet, ahkij, and lanz.* For details see Diwan Kripa Ram, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, p. 485.

64 William Moorcraft and George Trebeck, *Travels in Himalayan province of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kanduz, and Bokhara,1819-23,* vol., II, London, 1841; reprint, 1992, p. 133

65 Gulshan-i- Dastur, ff. 226-31b, 300-04b; see also Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Alexander Rogers, vol. II, pp.146-147. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol., I, Eng., trans., Blochmann, p. 157; Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 322-25. The rearing of animals was a well known practise in Kashmir, among many animals cow, sheep goat and horses were reared.

THE CROPS AND THE OTHER AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE:

Notwithstanding the topographical constraints, the valley of Kashmir was a highly fertile, practically a self-supporting country.[66] The peculiar physical character and the climatic constraints of the valley restricted the intensive farming. With the excessive snow fall during the winters the land was utilised for agriculture only from March to October. The land of Kashmir is also endowed with the quality of producing all the grains, depended much on the timely arrival of monsoon, and due to the uncertainty of weather, there was a considerable seasonal variation in production level.[67] However, it is interesting to note that in Kashmir, the crops of both *Rabi* (it is a winter crop) and *Kharif* (summer crop) are produced during the period which begins from March and ends with November. The Rabi crops took four or five months to mature, in other parts, it took five to six months in the valley of Kashmir.[68] Since Kharif was harvested by September/October i.e. on the eve of snow fall, and since there was little time to prepare the soil for the next crop, Rabi seeds were sown only in such fields as had not been cultivated during the Kharif season.[69] And since Rabi crops took longer to mature in Kashmir, they left no time for the Kharif. It should be noted that in the valley of Kashmir no rabi crop matures before May and no Kharif crop after October. In effect, therefore, Kashmiri peasants had to subsist on one-crop economy either Rabi or Kharif. That is what the system of cultivation was technically known as "*ek fasal*".[70] Double cropping or *do-fasli* could be raised on the Lamli land which comprised the sufficient part of the total sown area but the practice was not done as this type of land was exclusively dependent on the rains. Moreover, the production on this type of land could not be even equated to the crops produced on the *abi* land.[71]

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66 For details, see *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, pp. 430-32

67 Walter Lawrence, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, (Provincial Series) Jammu and Kashmir, Calcutta, 1909, p.20

68 Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp.325-330

69 F. Drew, *The Northern Barrier of India*, pp.172-173. See also Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp.325-330

70 Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p.329; The larger portion of the land was "single-cropped" (yak-fasla), being sown either for the rabi or kharif harvest, but some was "double cropped."(do-fasla). Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.27

71 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol., II, Eng., trans., H. S. Jarrett, pp. 350-51; see also Bernier, Travels in the Mughal Empire, Eng., trans., A. Constable, revised by V. A. Smith, pp. 304-305

Evidently, it was for the reason that the crop a year economy, the Sultanate rulers understanding the Kashmir well imposed only the one-third of produce as land revenue.[72] However, the Mughals being foreigners brought Kashmir in the same line of double-crop (do-fasli) economy of the Indian plains, imposed one-half as land revenue.[73] This eventually led to great misery of the peasantry.[74]

The important crops grown in the valley are divided into two groups, the Rabi (winter crop) and kharif (summer crop):-[75]

- Rabi Crops:- barley, wheat, rape, beans, mustard, linseeds, grams and cotton
- Kharif Crops:- rice, maize, saffron, pulses, and water chestnuts

However, it has to be remembered that no uniform cropping pattern was followed because of the peculiar geo-physical setting of the valley. Characterised by mountainous and undulating terrain which constituted a large chunk of the land in the Valley of Kashmir, the cropping patterns and crop combinations differ considerably. Despite the constraints in agro-climatic variations, the availability or unavailability of irrigation facilities played a key role in determining the cropping structure. Thus, in order to evaluate the significance of the agriculture in the economy of Kashmir, an attempt has been made to examine the nature and processes in the cultivation of crops then cultivated in the valley of Kashmir.

RICE

Among the agricultural produce, Rice was cultivated extensively throughout the Valley.[76]It was the staple crop of the people of Kashmir from the very ancient past.[77] The seeds were sown in the month of *Chaitra* (March) and by the month of *Badra*

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[72] Mirza Haider Dauglat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Eng., trans., pp. 430-32; also See Irfan Habib, *op.cit*., p. 223-224

[73] Haider Mirza, Tarikh-i-Kashmir, p. 74

[74] For details see Suka, *Rajatarangini,* Eng. trans., J. C. Dutt., pp. 373-74

[75] Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 345a

[76] Father Pierre Du Jarric, *Akbar and the Jesuites*, Eng., trans., C. H. Payne, New Delhi, 1979, p. 76; Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, pp.143-147 See also J. Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo,* Vol. I, Library of Alexandria, 1902, p.166

[77] Damodaragupta, *Kuttanimatam,* Hindi trans., Vidyalankar, Book house, Varanasi, VV, 228-229, 871

(September), the fields were covered with ripened paddy. The fields had to be properly ploughed up before sowing the seeds and oxen were employed for tillage. Its cultivation occupied a major portion of the valley. According to the author of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* about two-third of the total area sown was under the cultivation of rice.[78] It was sown in *abi* land, irrigated by a variety of water resources; there are definite indicators of an elaborate system of irrigation having been present. It proves further the antiquity and the dominance of rice cultivation in the Valley. It appears that all available land on the hill sides, *karewas*, and low lying tracts by the marshes, where water could easily reach must have been under cultivation. Though Jahangir's statement seems little bit exaggerated, but there is no denying the fact that major cultivable portion of land was under its cultivation. The loamy soil and the suitable temperature were the significant factors for its dominance among the other crops. Its production was also carried in regions like Kishtawar, Pakhli, and some areas of Punch, [79] but the rice grown in the Valley were of inferior type than Rajouri. [80] In Kashmir, according to *Dastur-ul-Amal* of Mir Ahmad, seventy five varieties were grown,[81] but according to author of *Tarikh-i-Hasan* ninety four varieties were grown.[82] Among all the varieties five types were considered best but

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[78] "Rice is the principal crop. Probably there are three parts under rice and one under all other grains. The chief food of the people of' Kashmir is rice but it is inferior". Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. trans., Vol. II, pp.146-147

[79] *Ibid*,, Abul Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol. II. p. 172

[80] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol., I., p.34

[81] Mir Ahmad, Dastur-al-Amal, pp. 65-66;

[82] Pir Ghulam Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Urdu trans., Sharif Qasami, p. 229. Some of the varieties are as follows: Khakhur, Misel, *Basmati, Bud Braz Auzal-crad, Anar-dani, Anzan, Baber, Ban-Ikala, Gurah, Lenahzag, Reban, Bud-i-Anzan, zuk-i-tutur, gud krhun, gud vozul, lashoor, zuk mavar, zagr, zuk, chunder-i-hal, Budji, Bud-zug, Bud-zagur, Bari, Pout-bra, mah dun, mah anzan, munka shal, tumli hal, chogul, chitter-hal, chahnani-nour, dood-i-hal, raeen, rashum, lar boul, loueel anzan, lahn-i-zug, mukht-i-hal, ram-i-hal, ropa--hal, rah babn, sukhdas, sokal, sheermal, shah gur, shal-i-kuin, shoon, shala-i-anzan, shala-i-zug, kuo, kuin, khran-i-shoon, khaice nuir, kata chan, krahn-i- hal, krahn-i- braz, kanhama, kaval-i-krad, kalor, kho zuir, kabro, kumund, kral-i-anzan, kochi anzan, knur, but-boul, pout-kumad, joub, taich-itaichal,kava anzan, kachur neur, kavagur, nik-i-zak, vatal hal, har-i-kant,yemberzal, munk-i-hal, krahni neur, krahini zuk, gurah, gurah kunir, gurah mushk, lacha hal, , mushk budij, mukhta-i-braz, maver, matri hal, , Mughal boul, moin daini, niwer, nehali, nik-i- anzan, he boul,Kenu Pathau.* For details see Gulzar-i-Kashmir, p. 272-80; see also R. L. Hangloo, *op.cit*, p. 18. Some name added by interviewing Haji Abdul Ahad Dar, age 65 years, resident of Hudipora Baramulla, on 15-11-2014.

Chogul, which was grown in village Telbal in *pargana* Phak , was considered the best and sweet.[83] Among other varieties Larbyol, Mushkabudji and Koni were also considered good.[84] The rice consumed by the "ordinary people" was very coarse.[85] The annual production of paddy during the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (A.D1420-1470) was seventy seven lakh kharwar,[86] whereas, during the period of Akbar, the annual production was sixty one lakh kharwars and Qazi Ali officially raised the land revenue to one-half.[87] Rightly so, the contemporary remarked in graphical style, that "the Qazi gave nothing to any one, nor enjoyed anything himself. But he collected a large quantity of gold by robbing others."[88]

WHEAT

The second major crop was wheat *"kanak"*, which according to Abul Fazl, was among those agricultural produces on which revenue rates were levied.[89] The crop was sown in arid zones which depended upon periodical rains; were neither manured nor weeded and even not required irrigation facilities.[90] The "wheat is small in grain and black in colour and there is less consumed" says Abul Fazl.[91] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* also remarks that, "the wheat is small and of little substance.[92] The cultivation of wheat was not extensively raised in the valley of Kashmir, apparently because, it was not the principal crop. Hence, little attention was paid towards its cultivation. This could also envision from the statement of Vigne, that it was grown on one-eighth of the overall arable land.[93] As a

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83 Pir Ghulam Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Urdu trans., Sharif Qasami, p. 229.

84 *Loc.cit*

85 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.103

86 N.K. Zutshi, *Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin*, p.129; See also Mushtaq A Kaw, op.cit, p. 76

87 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Eng., trans., H. Jarrett, Vol., II., p. 366

88 Suka, Rajatarangini, Eng. trans.,

89 On three agricultural products paddy, wheat and vetch (a grass for fodder), revenue was levied. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p.90

90 Walter Lawrence, op.cit, pp. 342;

91 *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol. II, Eng., trans., H. S. Jarrett, p.353; See also Mushtaq A kaw, op.cit, p. 81

92 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., by Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, p.147

93 *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardoo*, Vol., I, p.309

most important crop, it was also raised in the hilly tracts of Kishtawar Poonch, little and greater Tibet.[94] However, whatever little quantity was raised in the suba, *pargana* Shahabad yielded superior quality of wheat.[95]

BARLEY

The other food crop cultivated in the valley of Kashmir was barley (*Yava)*. It has been frequently mentioned with reference to the religious ceremonies and offerings to the deities.[96] According to M.A. Stein, barley was eaten in the Kashmir only by the poorest or in other places, where proper food could not be prepared.[97] This crop, as earlier referred, was sown in the arid zone of Kashmir. Abul-Fazl has given contrasting references, about this crop. In the *Ain-i-Akbari*, he remarks that barley was not grown in Kashmir.[98] While as in *Akbar Nama*, he says that barley was grown as a spring (*rabi*) crop in Kashmir, and from one *patta* of land two *traks* were the share of the ruler.[99] Besides a number of stray references in the contemporary local literature,[100] the cultivation of barley in the valley is also substantiated by Abul Fazl. As a matter of fact, like *pargana* Lar, barley was raised elsewhere in the valley too.[101] Similarly, Emperor Jahangir in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* writes that Barley was produced in Kishtawar, Pakhil,[102] and in little Tibet, it was main agricultural product.[103] Prof. Irfan Habib hastily

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94 William Moorcraft and George Trebeck, *Travels in Himalayan province of Hindustan and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, in Peshawar, Kabul, Kanduz, and Bokhara,* 1819-23, London, 1841, Vol. I. pp.275-277

95 G. T. Vigne, *op. cit*., vol. I, p. 309

96 Nila, *Nilmata Purana,* Eng., trans., Ved Kumari, VV, 450, 652

97 Kalhana, *Rajtarangini*: *A Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmir*, Eng. Trans., M.A. Stein, Vol., I, Gulshan Publications, Srinagar, 1980, p. 205.

98 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, Eng., trans., H. S. Jarrett, p.353

99 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, Eng., trans., H. Beveridge, pp. 830-31

100 Srivara, *op. cit*., p .276

101 *Majmuat- Tawarikh,* Farsiya Akhbar, MS. No. 148, p. 15; According to Abul Fazl (*Akbar Nama*, Vol., III, p. 831) In Lar and its appurtenances the persons deputed to inquire found that 1 man 20 sers of wheat, 1 man 26 ¾ sers of barley 1 man 30 ½ sers of pulses and mustard were taken.

102 Jahangir, *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., Vol., II, p.138. According to Abul Fazl (Vol. II), p. 397), barley was the principal crop of the people of Pakhli.

103 *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 287

establishes that barley was not raised in Kashmir;[104] but as a keen observer, Walter Lawrence remarks, it was extensively cultivated in the valley, and it was normally grown on the land dependent upon periodical rains; hence required no weeding or manuring and the barely lands of the Kashmir probably have held not their match for bad and slovenly cultivation in the world.[105] From these conflicting views, it seems that during the period under study, barely was cultivated, but not extensively.

PULSES

From the very past the various varieties of pulses were cultivated in the *karewas* of the Kashmir; however, they have been mentioned in connection with the religious ceremonies.[106] Their presence is attested by both the Mughal and the local sources and they continued to be cultivated with other crops including paddy and barely.[107] Among different varieties *mung, masoor, maha, motah* and *mash* of four types were grown, but only three items contributed to the state revenue which according to Abul Fazl, was one *kharwar* from *mung, motah* and *mash*"[108] The author of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* mentioned that "there are all kinds of crops except peas if they sown peas, they give a crop first year; in the second, they are inferior and in the third, they are like *mushang*".[109] Among the pulses the best was *moong* and inferior *motah*.[110] These pulses were mostly raised on the *kushki* land which depends on the periodical rains and the lands were necessitated with multiple ploughings, with no weeding, watering, watching or manuring.[111]

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104 Irfan Habib, *op.cit*, p.41.

105 Walter Lawrence, op.cit, pp. 341-42.

106 Mention may be made of mung, kulatha, cana, mothi, masa, and masur See *Nilmat Purana* Eng., trans., op.cit, VV, 570, 555; S. C. Ray, *op.cit*., p. 120

107 *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, Eng. trans. H. Beveridge, pp.832; See also Tarikh-i-Hasan, Urdu trans., p. 231; Walter Lawrence, op.cit, p. 337

108 *Ibid*, pp. 830-32; See also Tarikh-i-Hasan, op.cit, p. 231; Kaw, op.cit., p. 84

109 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Vol., II, pp.146-147

110 Lawrence, *op.cit*, p.339

111 *Ibid*

SAFFRON

The crop for which Kashmir has been famous since time immoral was Saffron (*crocus sativus*).[112] The earliest reference is noticeable in Kalhana's *Rajatarangani* and the text mentions it as *Kumkuma.*[113] The origin of this crop is shrouded in a mythical legend. According to the legend, a physician named Wagabatta received a bulb of saffron as a reward from Naga Takshaka on his being cured of an eye disease.[114] It was a praised commodity and has been repeatedly mentioned as a sacred crop used in the Puja ceremonies.[115] It was used for the preparation of medicine as well. The cultivation of this crop was restricted in two localities namely Padmapur *Karewa* (present Pampore*)* one of the dependencies of the pargana *Vihi* and at Inderkot, which was a dependency of Pargana Paraspur.[116]While as, the author of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* remarks that saffron was only cultivated in Inderkot seems to be misled by the fact that in comparison to Inderkot it was largely grown at Pampore.[117] According to Abul Fazl, there were twelve thousand bighas under Saffron cultivation at Pampur and the Saffron fields extended over nearly twelve 'Kos'. Similarly, at Inderkot, the Saffron fields extended over an area of "one kos". [118] Outside the valley, it was cultivated in the Kishtawar and it was considered superior to that of Pampore. [119] Both these villages are situated on the *udars* or *karewas*, which usually were believed to be the offshoot of the lacustrinic upheavals.[120]

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112 Saffron is known as *Zafran* in Arabic and *Kunkuma* in Sanskrit and *kong* in Kashmiri.

113 Kalhana, Rajatarangini, I, p. 42

114 P N K Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, pp. 223-24

115 Nila, *Nilmata Purana*, Eng., trans., Ved Kumari, VV, 430, 570-7; its importance can be traced from the account of Kalhana who counted it among the five rarest thing of Kashmir. Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, p. 42.

116 Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol., I, Eng., trans., H. S. Jarrett, p. 9o; Mushtaq A. Kaw, op.cit, 78

117 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., Vol. II, p.177 vide Mushtaq A. Kaw, op.cit, p.79

118 Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol., I, Eng., trans., H. S. Jarrett, p. 9o; Mushtaq A. Kaw, op.cit, 78

119 *Ibid*, p.138

120 Mushtaq A. Kaw, op.cit, p.78.

The novice experiment made during the period of Sultanate to cultivate it on Dever *udar* failed after some time. However, the main area of its production is still Pampore, affectionately called as "*sona krend*"[121] or gold basket, in spite of the advanced agricultural technology. According to Vigne, "it is said to be composed of the richest soil in the valley; though I do not know any reason why any other of the *karewas* when irrigated as former, should not be just as good."[122]

Understandably, its cultivation restricted only on the *karewas* of the Pampore, might have certain inherent causes that prevented the common peasantry to resort to the cultivation of this cash crop. Among many reasons, one was that the Saffron cultivation was a state monopoly in Kashmir. [123] Second, its plant required well drained loamy sloppy soil. On the Pompore table land, saffron lands are even now laid out in raised beds of two point five square metres with drainage channels all around. Third, the saffron cultivation necessitated specific soil with fertile nutrients. Such type of soil was available at Pampore and Inderkot.[124] The other factor may be that Pompore has an altitude of one thousand six hundred metres above sea level and its localities receive the lowest rainfall to the tune of thirty to forty centimetres. One might recall in this regard that Pompore in the entire south Kashmir received the lowest rainfall.[125] The other cause, although a common myth among the inhabitants, which restricted the cultivation of saffron only to Pampore *udar*, was due to the blessings of a local saint, who was well received by the people of Pampore. [126]

The cultivation of saffron was different than other crops. The seeds were planted in the pulverised soil on the beds at a depth of four inches from the surface and sown in the month of July and August but the use of manure is strictly prohibited and no

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121 C. E. Bates, op.cit, p. 44

122 G. T Vigne, op.cit, Vol. II, p. 33

123 Abul Fazl, op. cit., p. 452, 535.

124 Mushtaq A. Kaw, *op.cit*, p.78

125 Production of Saffron, *unpublished record*, state archives, files no.15, J and K govt. Srinagar. Vide Mushtaq A. Kaw, *op.cit*, p.78

126 An interview with Nazir Ahmad, age 55 years, from resident from Pampore, on 15/08/ 2014

assistance given in the way of water "the plant springs up amongst the clods".[127] Within a month, the seeds germinate and in the month of October and November bring forth flowers. The flower has four petals, and its colour is that of a violet. These saffron fields remained under the crop for about ten years, during which period the number of corns was almost doubled. Each seed flowered for a period of six years continuously, and then the land was left uncultivated for a period of five to eight years to regain the fertility. [128]

Saffron cultivation was a royal monopoly in ancient as well as in medieval Kashmir and it remained so under the Chak rulers.[129] According to Abul Fazl, during the period of Sultans men were forcibly employed for collection of saffron.[130] They were compelled to work for separating the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and a person when sifting two *palas* of saffron from the petals and the stem received in return a certain quantity of salt instead of wages. [131] Under Ghazi Chak, picking of saffron flowers by compulsion was discouraged. Those who were employed to pick the flowers were given eleven traks to clean, out of which they received one *trak* as their wages. For the remaining ten *traks* they had to furnish two Akbarshahi *seers* of clean dry saffron, i.e. for two Akbarshahi *mans* of un- cleaned saffron's, two *seers* of cleaned flowers were demanded. This custom was however abolished by Akbar in 1597 remarks the court historian.[132]

After his death, i.e. during the reign of Jahangir, it appears that the element of force re-emerged in an explicit form as he himself admitted that, "it is an established custom that they bring the saffron flowers plucked and according to the plan, they have adopted from the elders, they took half its salt, in wages."[133] When such cruelties came to

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[127] Jahangir *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Vol. I. p.93; Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p.342

[128] C. E. Bates, *Gazetteer*, p. 44

[129] *Ain- i- Akbari*, Eng. Trans., Blochman, Vol., I, pp. 89-90

[130] *Ibid*

[131] Ibid

[132] One Kashmiri *Trak* was equal to eight *seers* of the time of Akbar. Ibid, p. 90; According to Irfan Habib during the Sultanate period the people who were employed for separating the saffron from the petals and stamens were given nothing in return as wages. This practice was abolished by Akbar. Irfan Habib, *op.cit.* p. 248

[133] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., Vol. II, pp.177-78

the notice of Shah Jahan he abolished the system of royal proclamation. The Farman enjoined that "…no man shall by any means be forced to collect saffron; and as regards the saffron grown on the *Khalisa* lands, labourers employed be satisfied by payment of considerable wages…"[134]

It is worth to mention here that the acreage under saffron had always been limited- 10,000 to 12,000 *bighas* during Akbar's reign;[135] and its annual production in a good year, was four hundred mounds of the current or 3,002 Khurasan *maunds*.[136] The price of Kashmir saffron during the time of Akbar was from Rs 8 to Rs 10-12 per seer and in Jahangir's time, it was also about the same.[137] According to the survey of 1887-93, the measured saffron land in the valley was found to be 4527 acres, i.e. 1832 hectares of which only 132 acres (53 hectares) were actually sown with saffron.[138]

KANGANI AND MILLET

The other crops grown were Kangani (*shol*) and millet (*ping*). The former was mainly cultivated around the banks of the river and the later raised in the *pargana* Lar and around the Wular Lake.[139]

OIL SEEDS

Oil seeds were largely grown in Kashmir and the principal one was *tilgogul* which was grown as a spring crop.[140] Seed was sown at the rate of six *seers* per acre[141] and it also contributed to the state exchequer.[142] The oil extracted from it was used for the domestic

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134 For English Translation of the Farman see Jivanji Jamshadi, *A Few Persian Inscriptions of the Kashmir*, JBBRAS, Vol., II, No.2, 1926

135 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng., trans., Blochman, pp. 89-90

136 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., by Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, Vol., II, p177. Where as, in the volume I, p. 93 He says the annual crop is 500 maunds by Hindustani weight, equal to 500 wilayat (Persian) maunds.

137 *Ibid, p.*178; See also *Ain- i- Akbari*, Eng., Trans., Blochman, Vol. I. pp.89-90

138 Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp.342-343

139 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Vol., III, Eng., trans., pp.830-832; See also Tarikh-i-Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 231; Majid Matoo, *op.cit*, p. 41. Millet was grown as a food, staple in Kashmir on the low hills bordering the plains who cooked it in the form of porridge. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XV, pp. 116-117

140 *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, Eng. trans. H. Beveridge, pp.830-832

141 F. Younghusband, *Kashmir*, p.200-201.

142 *Akbar Nama*, Vol. III, Eng. trans., H. Beveridge, pp.830-832

consumption and for lighting purpose. Moreover, oil was also extracted from walnuts and apricots.[143]

VEGETABLES

Other than these varieties, vegetables were of great importance in Kashmir, and every villager had his small garden plot, where he raised a wealth of food with very small efforts.[144] Vegetables such as cauliflower, carrot, leaf stalks of the pomposh, horned water nuts or singhars, nymphaea lotus, turnip, radish, spinach, cucumber, beans etc. were grown all over the valley.[145] Also many gardens were located on the banks of Dal Lake, where various kinds of vegetables were grown by the cultivators.[146] Water chestnut was extensively found in the lakes which constituted the main food of the peoples living on the banks of the lake. The Kashmiri vegetables were exported to royal kitchen at Delhi as well.[147]

FRUITS

From the ancient times, Kashmir had been famous for its different varieties of fruits. The author of the celebrated *Nilmata Purana* admires the fruits grown in Kashmir.[148] However, it was during the reign of King Lalitadatiya, the cultivation of fruits received considerable patronage.[149] Subsequently, during the period of study under review, some varieties of fruits were brought from Persia (Iran), Kabul, and central Asia. An important development that took place in horticultural sector during the Mughal rule in Kashmir was introduction of grafting (*pyvend).*[150] The technique introduced brought far reaching repercussion, as it made easy the availability of best kind of fruits easily. It was Muhammad Quli Afshar, the *daroga* of the gardens during the reign of Emperor Akbar, who brought cherries and apricots from Kabul, and planted them in the valley through

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143 Cf. Mushtaq A. Kaw, op.cit, p. 87

144 Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp.339-340

145 C. E. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p.50; Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p.330; See also Gulshan-i-Dastur, ff., 443a

146 *Ain- i- Akbari*, Eng., Trans., H.S. Jarrett, Vol. I. p.361

147 *Ibid*, p.60

148 Nilamata Purana, Vol. I, pp. 14-16.

149 Kalhana, *Rajatarangini* , Eng., trans., M.A Stein, p. 428

150 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Vol., II, pp.146-147

grafting and by the time of Emperor Jahangir there were ten to fifteen fruit bearing trees. By the same method, apricot trees, which were formerly few, now became plentiful.[151] In the initial stage of cultivation, they were confined to the imperial gardens only, but later on, Jahangir directed the officials to popularise these new varieties.[152] But according to Bernier, the grafting was either not being followed at all or followed only very slowly in Kashmir, the very site of the first experiment.[153]

According to Mirza Haider Daughlat "Pears, mulberry and Cherries are met with but the apples are particularly good. There are other fruits in plenty, sufficient to make one break ones resolution. Among the wonders are the quantities of mulberry trees for their leaves [from which] silk is obtained. The people make a practice of eating the fruits... In the season, fruit is so plenty that it is rarely brought and sold."[154] Walnuts grow largely in wild[155] and the taste of the pears *(nashpati*) of Kashmir is of best kind, better than that of Kabul, or Badakshan and nearly equal to those of Samarkand.[156] Experiments were carried on in cultivating mangoes but with little success;[157] the apples, peaches, melons, apricot and almond are excellent, added to the variety of fruits grown in Kashmir.[158]

Grapes were cultivated in plenty, Kalhana even goes to the extent of saying that the grapes, which were scarce even in heaven, were common in Kashmir.[159] "All the Mughals who received presents of grapes from the cultivators and tasted them acknowledged that they were superior to the nectar from the lips of their wives".[160] But

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151 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Vol., II, pp.146-147

152 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Vol., II, pp.146-147

153 Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire* 1656-1668. A.D. (Eng. Trans.), Archibald Constable, New Delhi, reprint, 1968, p.397

154 Mirza Haider Daughlat, op.cit, p. 425

155 William Moorcraft and George Trebeck, Travels in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan and Punjab, Vol. II., p. 145

156 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., by Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, pp.146-147

157 Cf. Abdul Majid Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, p.46

158 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Eng. trans, H.S. Jarrett, Vol. II, p.353.

159 Kalhana, *Rajatarangani*, Eng. trans. M.A. Stein, I, p.42

160 Suka, *Rajatarangani*, Eng., trans., J. C. Dutt, p.408

Abul Fazl says "although grapes are in plenty, the finer qualities are rare".[161] Jahangir says, they are "harsh and inferior"[162]. There are said to be eighteen to twenty varieties of grapes in Kashmir, of which four are foreign introductions. These are the *Sahibi* of an oblong shape and red colour; the *Maska*, the round and yellowish-white; the *Hoseini,* of the same colour, but long; and the *kishmishi*, yellowish-white or green, round and seedless. The last one is small but the other three are large in size. Akbar introduced *Sahibi* and *Kishmishi,* and the quality of indigenous vine which were generally planted at the foot of a popular and mulberry.[163] The markets of Lahore were stocked with Kashmiri grapes during the month of August-September. Eight *seers* of grapes were sold in Kashmir for one *dam*, and the cost of transport was two rupees per *man*. The Kashmiri's bring them on their backs in conical baskets.[164]

Plum and Mulberries were also there, but the mulberries (*tul*) are not fit to eat with the exception of some of trees grown in gardens. Wine was distilled from the mulberries. Water melons of the best kind can be obtained, whereas, guavas are middling and the pomegranates which were extensively grown in Punch and kishtawar are not of superior quality.[165] Quinces were also grown in considerable quantities. Apricots and walnuts were mostly grown wild, but they were an excellent fruit, the walnut of Kashmir valley was superior to the nuts of Kabul valley; they were principally used for oil.[166]

It may be apt to mention here that horticulture during the medieval Kashmir was not an organized and well developed industry; it was more or less carried on primitive lines. The greater part of orchards consisted of the wild trees. Even the tradition of manuring and pruning of fruit trees did not exist. These fruit gardens were also used as grazing grounds.[167] It is not surprising that the Bernier, who visited Kashmir in company of

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161 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Eng., trans., H.S. Jarrett, Vol. II, p.353.

162 Jahangir *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., by Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, p.146-147.

163 Moorcraft and Trebeck, *Travels in Kashmir* (*1819-1825*), p.42-43. See also Abdul Majid Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, p.46.

164 Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, (Eng. Trans,) H.S. Jarrett, Vol. I, p.68

165 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., vol. II, pp.146-147

166 Moorcraft and Trebeck, *Travels,* II, pp.145-146.

167 Walter Lawrence, op. cit., p. 319n

Emperor Aurangzeb, resented the comparative ignorance of the gardeners. Comparing and commenting, he says that, "the whole ground is enamelled with our European flowers and plants and covered with our apple, plum, apricot, and walnut trees; all bearing fruits in great abundance. The private gardens were full of melons, radishes, most of our pot herbs, and others with which we are unacquainted." But, as compared with the French, they were rather inferior. "The fruit is not certainly inferior to our own" continues Bernier, "nor is it in such variety; but this, I am satisfied is not attributable to the soil, but to the comparative ignorance of the gardeners, for they do not understand the culture and grafting of trees as we do in France."[168]

Thus, from the above survey of the agricultural production, it becomes clear that the Mughals introduced adequate changes in the agrarian economy of the valley of Kashmir. They improved the existing system of irrigation and brought certain new varieties of crops. However, the basic economic structure remained, more or less, the same. The rural and urban folk remained busy in the agricultural pursuits, as agriculture was their mainstay. The whole scale concentration remained on the cultivation of rice and the other food crops like barely, maize and other cereals. However, these were of little importance both in acreage and the productivity. The supplementary crops were raised only when or where rice was not possible.

[168] Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, Eng., trans., Constable and Smith, p.397

CHAPTER-7

ARTS, CRAFTS AND INDUSTRIES

Every artist was first an Amateur

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Kashmir was primarily a land of villages where more than eighty percent of population pursued agriculture as the principal means of livelihood and it was also the main source of income to the State; while the rest, although smaller in size, but a considerable number of the populace lived in urban areas, took up various industries and crafts as their vocations.[1] However, it is important to note here that the village populace, no doubt, for the most part were busy in the agricultural pursuits and in producing food and raw materials for the urban areas but at the same time, they were not devoid of mechanized activities like cloth weaving, carpentry, pottery, smithy, oil pressing, bee-keeping, lather-work, animal husbandry etc. The part time activity could be seen in the backdrop that all-total reliance on agriculture could not provide them sufficient means of livelihood. Moreover, agriculture was carried out only for five to six months a year; for the rest of the time, the land remained covered with snow when no cultivation was possible. In this leisured winter time, almost for six months, a significant part was spent in running the various cottage industries.[2] The villages, according to Irfan Habib were quite self-sufficient, they produced, more or less, everything that was demanded as well as needed within; and the surplus produce of the peasantry found its way to the market towns which were available at Islamabad, Bijbehara, Pampore, Shahabad, Sopore, Baramulla, Pattan

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[1] *Report on Jammu and Kashmir State*, 1891, Vol., XXVIII, Lahore, 1893, p. 154. According to Census of 1871, 81.4% of population pursued agriculture as the principal means of livelihood. As per the Census of 1891, the urban population forms about 17%. Cf. Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 225; Srinagar city and the other towns were the centres of trade and commerce as well as the centres of arts and crafts. See, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 171; F. Bernier, *Travels,* pp. 402-403; *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Eng. Trans., p. 425; Khuihami, Pir Hasan Shah,, *Tarikh-i- Hasan*, Urdu trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, Vol., I, City Book Centre, Srinagar, 2003, p. 252

[2] Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, VI, p. 9.

and Chrar, etc remarks Vigne. [3] This flow of village surplus to the urban centres, in due course, transformed the economic life of the cities and, thus, termed the urban centres as 'natural sanctuaries' for various types of artisans. It was, therefore, no wonder that during the period under review an extraordinary development was witnessed in the industrial field of Kashmir.

A. TEXTILES INDUSTRY

Of all the arts and crafts of Kashmir, her hand-woven textile was perhaps the oldest industry, which had won a great reputation even in the earliest times. It was also one of the most vital and flourishing industries of the period under consideration. The earliest mention of the woollen products of Kashmir are perhaps mentioned in the *Jataka* stories, which praise the wool of the Gandhara; and it is worth noting that *Jataka* included Kashmir in Gandhara region.[4] A Chinese pilgrim Hieun Tsang, who visited Kashmir makes mention of three main types of woollen garments: the first being *kauseya*, covering; the second, *ksauma*, linen manufactured from flax and hemp; and the third *kambala*, implying woollen blankets, which were prevalent in Kashmir and the other parts of northern India, where the air was cold. And the famous centre for weaving cloths in Kashmir was in *Pattana*, founded by king Shamkaravarman; it is today known with the name *Pattan*, a town in Baramulla district. [5] The textile industry not only fulfilled the internal consumption of the people of the region, but was also used as an article of trade with other adjoining countries.[6] The high rate of industrial maturity and technical perfection of Kashmir puzzled Mirza Haider Dughlat, who expressed this in these words, "in Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are, in most cities, uncommon… In the whole of Mavara-un-Nahr, except in Samarqand and Bokhara, these

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3 Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 119; G.T. Vigne, *op. cit.*, vol., I, p. 270

4 Y. B. Singh, *"Commercial Activity in Ancient Kashmir"* Proceedings in the Punjab History Conference, 10th Session, 1976, pp. 43-44; See also D. D. Kosambi, 'Feudalism in Kashmir', *Journal of Bombay Asiatic Society*, 15th anniversary, Bombay, 1965 pp. 4-7

5 Cf. S.C. Ray, *op.cit*, p. 147

6 Srivara, *Jaina Rajatarangini*, Eng. Trans., J.C. Dutt, p. 151; *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, ff. 125-26; See also P.N.K. Bamzai, *op. cit.*, pp. 495, 497

are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant".[7] Likewise Abul Fazl and Emperor Jahangir have all praise for Kashmiris for their arts and crafts; according to Abul Fazl, "there are artificers of various kinds, who might be deservedly employed in the greatest cities."[8]

There were mainly two types of the woollen cloths manufactured in the country; one was the rough woollen cloth called *Pattu* and the second soft and delicate known as *Shawl*. The former was a common dress of the people of Kashmir, both for men and women, worn not only in winter but also in summer; known for its warmth and durability.[9] There was hardly any house in Kashmir where loom and spinning wheel to manufacture the woollen cloth "*Pattu*" were not found.[10]

The raw material used for manufacturing Pattu was 'coarse wool' produced indigenously from cattle's, mainly the goats and sheeps. There were extensive pasture lands in the country which enabled the people to take up livestock-breeding and thereby they produced raw material for the fabrication of the woollen garments.[11] The best wool was used for blankets and according to G. T. Vigne, 'the blankets of superior order were produced in Bijbehara'[12] and 'the best wool for blanket weaving', says Younghusband, 'was found in Kishtawar'.[13] The chief producing areas were Shiopian, Anantnag and Srinagar.[14] The process of weaving *Pattu* was same as we find in modern times in the

[7] Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, Eng. Trans. from Persian, N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, *"A History of Mughals of Central Asia"*, Renaissance Publishing House, Delhi, reprinted 1986, p. 434.

[8] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p.350; Jahangir, *Tuzk-i-Jahangiri*, p.147

[9] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 147 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 350

[10] For details see *Chapter on Material Conditions*. The town of Sopore was famous for *Pattu.* See *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, I, p. 255

[11] *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, ff. 300a-5b; C. E. Bates, *op. cit*, p. 60; S.C. Ray, *op.cit*, p. 147. According to Emperor Jahangir, "by sewing two [pattu] shawls together, they [peasantry] smoothed a saqarlat [broad cloth called chadar in Kashmiri] which saved them from rain." *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol., II, pp. 147-148

[12] G.T. Vigne, *Travels*, vol., I , p. 23

[13] Younghusband, *Kashmir*, p. 194. The variation in the quality of wool depends on the character of the grasses of the different mountains on which sheep feed in the summer. The grasses of the southern pastures are rank and strong and the wool of that part of the valley is long and rather course. Cf. Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 363

[14] C. E. Bates, *op. cit*, p. 60; Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 363

rural areas of Kashmir and its manufacture required small enterprise involving small investment and ordinary skills. As per Moti Lal Saqi, the different parts of the loom were warp, shuttle, and woop and press board.[15] The work of weaving was carried out by the weavers usually in winter months, and both boys and girls were engaged in picking, cleaning and carding the wool; the women folk worked at their buzzing "*charkhas*" and the cultivators at the looms, weaving a *pattu* or a blanket.[16]

Shawl Industry

The manufacture for which Kashmir achieved a worldwide name and fame, other than that of its heavenly beauty, running streams and enchanting cascades are light, warm, and delicate woollen fabric known as 'Shawl'.[17] About the origin of this industry, we do not have any definite information; however, there are numerous references about this industry in the Hindu scriptures, which trace its history to antiquity in Kashmir. According to M. S. Ganju 'when lord Krishna went to the *Kurus* as a delegate from the *Pandavas*, the present of Dhritarashtra to him included ten thousand shawls of Kashmir'.[18] Furthermore, Schoff in his Periplus of Erythraean, states that **'**a fine and soft woollen garments were given in dowry by Janaka to his daughters especially to *Sita* were nothing but Kashmiri shawls'.[19] It was a prosperous industry in the days of the Roman Empire, when Kashmiri shawls were worn by the proudest beauties at the court of the Caesars.[20] According to the Ree's *Encyclopaedia* (1891), "there seems no doubt that Romans were well acquainted with the shawls of Kashmir, which are fabrics of a brilliant

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15 Moti Lal Saqi, *Kulliyat-i-Shaikhu'l Alam*, p. 87

16 C. E. Bates, *op. cit*, p. 60; Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 363;Younghusband, *Kashmir*, p. p. 195

17 Sulakhan Singh and Showkat Ahmad Dar, 'Shawl Industry in Kashmir Under the Mughals, (1586-1752 A. D)', *Journal of Languages and Culture, Vol., 5(4), November, 2014, pp. 54-58*

18 M. S. Ganju, *Textile Industries in Kashmir*, p. 34; Census of India, 1921, Vol., XXII, Part I, pp. 180; G. M. D Sufi, Islamic Culture in Kashmir, p. 283 ; On Yuan Chwang's, *Travels In India (A.D. 629-645),* trans., by Thomas Watters, New Delhi, 1973, pp. 148-49.

19 Schoff , *Periplus of Erythraean*, p. 258 quoted in Gadgil, *Industrial Evolution of India*, p.34

20 Cf. G. M. D Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, Light and Life Publications New Delhi, 1974. p. 283

and beautiful texture. The history of their manufacture is proof of a very high degree of perfection to which the fabrication of woollen cloth had been carried on in former times, for shawl is only woollen, without a twill and un milled; but it is spun to so great a degree of fineness, from wool peculiarly soft, that it has been rivalled by European nations”.[21] In Emperor Ashoka’s time, the Buddhist texts also make mention of Kashmiri Shawls, says G. M. D Sufi, but thereafter for a long period, this art was dead.[22]

The other well known tradition ascribed the origin of Shawl Industry in Kashmir to Sufi master, Mir Sayid Ali Hamadani, who came to Kashmir in the second half of the 14th Century.[23] Furthermore, another view put forth by Walter Lawrence in his famous work *The Valley of Kashmir* [24] is that the shawl weaving technique was introduced by Babur in India and thence made its entry in Kashmir, is a statement not substantiated by the sources.[25] There is, however, no doubt, that Shawl industry developed and received the worldwide reputation during the Sultanate period in Kashmir and it was Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (A.D 1420-1470), who introduced the twill tapestry technique, the brush and new type of loom in the manufacture of the Shawls.[26] It was also during his glorious reign, that exquisite floral, faunal and geometrical designs were woven on the new type of loom.[27] More than half century later, i.e. about the year 950 A.H (A.D 1541), Mirza

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21 Ree’s Encyclopaedia, 1819, p. 654; See also S. Sinha, *Kashmir-The playground of Asia,* p. 74

22 Cf. G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture,* p. 283

23 See Ghulam Nabi Khanyari, *Wajiza't-Tawarikh,* Research and Publication Department

Srinagar, f.16; See also Hasan, *op.cit.,* Vol., 1, pp.354-55; G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture,* p. 283; P. N. K. Bamzai, op.cit, p. 499 The industry dates its revival by the efforts of great saint Shah Hamdan, who visited valley in 781 of the Hijri era during the rule of Sultan Qutb-ud-din who patronised, nourished and stimulated it. *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* Edited by N. Elias, Trans., E. D. Ross, London, p. 434

24 Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir,* Katib Ghar, Srinagar, 1996, p. 375

25 Sulakhan Singh and Showkat Ahmad Dar, ‘Shawl Industry in Kashmir Under the Mughals, (1586-1752 A. D)’, *Journal of Languages and Culture, Vol., 5(4), November, 2014,* pp. 54-58

26 Srivara, *Zaina-Rajatarangini,* Eng., trans., R. C. Dutt., pp. 150-51; According to Birbal Kachroo and B. Hugel, Sultan Zain-ul Abidin was the originator of the Shawl industry in Kashmir seems contrary when corroborated with the contemporary sources.

27 *Ibid,* p. 151; see also Baharistan-i-Shahi, ff. 125-26

Haider Kashgari encouraged many of the industries, originally introduced by Zain-ul-Abidin.[28] Mirza Daughlat also encouraged the shawl industry, as in the words of Hajji Mukhtar, 'it was under the guidance of the Haider's faithful adherent and the cook, Naghz Beg, that a new industry was generated which induced the local people to develop the *Kani shawl* technique.[29] He also introduced a new feature of red and green spots in regular rows. Following his death, shawl weavers continued developing the spike shuttling method, using the double colour scheme in various ways, generally 'white *Pattu* for men' and 'red for women'. Later, saffron yellow and indigo blue were also added.[30]

The Mughals and The Shawl Industry

The manufacture of Shawls reached its zenith during the Mughal rule (A.D 1586-1752). The Mughal Emperors immensely encouraged it which ultimately led the commercialization of the industry and its reorganisation. The shawls were produced on a large scale and were made in high perfection, which were sent as valuable gifts to 'every clime'.[31] It became an article of luxury, used by the royalty and aristocracy or to put it simply the State was the chief customer of the stuff. It had become a craze with every noble to have a fine Kashmiri shawl, which was considered a symbol of prestige.[32] It was also a custom of the Mughal Emperors to reward their allies with robes of honour.[33] It

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28 *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Edited by N. Elias, Trans., E. D. Ross, London, p. 434; See also Frank Ames, *The Kashmir Shawl and its Indo-French Influence*, Antique Collector's Club, (England), 1986, p.17.

29 Hajji Mukhtar Shah, *A tract On the Art of Shawl Weaving in Kashmi*r, Eng. Trans. from Persian by Prof. B. A. Dar, Srinagar, 1980, pp.3-6; See also Charles Baron Hugel, *op.cit*, p. 9

30 *Ibid*, p. 6

31 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Nawal Kishore edition, Lucknow, 1879-80 & Eng. Trans., Vol., I, H. Blochmann and Vol. II-III, (Bound in one) H.S. Jarrett, Low Price Publication Delhi, Reprinted, 1994, Vol. II, p.358.

32 F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, A.D. 1656-1668*, Eng. trans. Archibald

Constable, London: W. Pickering, 1826; Reprint, New Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1992.pp. 402-03

33 See Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of the Valley of Kashmir*, p. 49 ; See Michelle Maskiell, "Consuming Kashmir: Shawls and Empires, 1500-2000", *Journal of the World History*, Vol. 13, Nov. 1, 2002, p. 33. Accessed: 19/03/2013 00:46

was bestowed as presents to the ladies of the imperial harem[34], the mansabdars,[35] the jagirdars, and the *umara* and to other special dignitaries on different occasions.[36] Furthermore, it was sent to the foreign monarchs and also offered to the envoys, who visited India from time to time.[37] The interest of the Mughal Emperors towards the Shawls can be seen from the remarks of the chronicles. According to Abul Fazl, Emperor Akbar wore the Shawl as a sign of auspiciousness. In his *Tuzuk,* Emperor Jahangir describes the stuff as one of his favourite item of dress.[38] Thus, the Mughal fascination for the Kashmiri fabrics resulted in a boom for the Shawl industry.

After conquering the valley of Kashmir in A.D 1586, Emperor Akbar took many efforts to improve this old industry. He introduced the fashionable aspect of shawls, including how to wear and embroider them to best advantage for the wardrobe of nobility.[39] According to Abul Fazl, "In former times shawls were often brought from Kashmir. People folded them up in four folds, and wore them for a long time. Nowadays, they are generally worn without folds, and merely thrown over the shoulders. His Majesty has commenced to wear them double [*du-shawl*] which looks very well."[40] In order to encourage the Shawl industry Emperor Akbar initiated a shawl cloth production in imperial workshops at Lahore, Patna and Agra, directing changes in how these were to be woven and dyed, but notwithstanding every possible care, they never had the delicate

[34] The total number of women who received presents during the reign of Akbar was 5,000. Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol. I, p. 26

[35] The total number of *mansabdars* in 1690 was 14,500 who received presents. J. N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p.9

[36] In 1616 A.D Sir Thomas Roe was presented a Kashmiri shawl which he refused. J. N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 53.

[37] Shah Jahan sent large number of Kashmiri Shawls to the rulers of Golconda, Bijapur, Persia and Egypt. Waris, *Badshahnama*, vol., II, *Transcript* No. 87, in CAS, Deptt., Of History, AMU, Aligarh, vol. II, f. 307

[38] Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol. II, Eng., trans., p.358; Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, Eng., trans., p. 578

[39] Michelle, Maskiell *Consuming Kashmir: Shawls and Empires,* 1500-2000, Journal of the World History, Vol. 13, Nov. 1, 2002, p. 33

[40] Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari,* Eng. Trans., Blochman, Vol. I, p.98

texture and softness of the Kashmir shawls.[41] He further wrote that how Akbar improved this department in four ways. According to Abul Fazl, two kinds of Shawls were manufactured in Kashmir namely *Tus* Shawls and *Alcha* Shawls. The former was of best quality and was made of the wool of an animal of that name (wild ibex hair) which inhabits greater Tibet. The Shawl made from this wool was unrivalled for its lightness, warmth and softness and was much esteemed. This kind of Shawl had many colours like black, red and white. People wore without altering its natural colour; His majesty [Akbar] has had it dyed.[42] The latter i.e. *Alcha Shawls* also called *Tarehdars*, was made of the wool of the native country, it was not as fine and delicate as that of the *Tus Shawl.* The stuffs may be had in three colours, white, black and mixed. The first or white kind was formerly dyed in three ways; his Majesty [Akbar] had given the order to dye it in various ways. [43] The third principle variety of shawls manufactured were to be seen in stuffs like Zardozi, Kalabatun, Kashida, Qalghai, Bandhnun, Chhint, Alcha, Purzdar and Parmanaram to which his Majesty paid much attention. Fourthly, an improvement was made in the width of all stuffs i.e.-*jamas*; his majesty had the pieces made large enough to yield the making of a full dress."[44] Thus according to Abul Fazl, Akbar increased the size of the Kashmiri Shawl so that it could be made into a complete suit. These measures taken, made the shawl industry more famous and thus boosted trade between Kashmir and the rest of India.[45] Similarly, shawl-weaving reached such a perfection and delicacy, that a shawl of one and half square yards could be twisted and passed through the ordinary finger ring. Such shawls were known as 'ring shawls'[46] and was manufactured

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[41] Abul Fazl, *Op. cit.*, p. 67-68. In Lahore there are more than thousand workshops, a kind of shawl known as *mayan* is chiefly woven there, it consists of silk and wool mixed. Both are used for *chiras* (turban) and *fotas* (lion bands).

[42] Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Eng., trans., Blochman, Vol. I, pp.97-98; Bernier, *op. cit.*, pp. 403

[43] *Ibid*; For details see Sulakhan Singh and Showkat Ahmad Dar, 'Shawl Industry in Kashmir Under the Mughals, (1586-1752 A. D)', *Journal of Languages and Culture, Vol., 5(4), November, 2014, pp. 54-58;* See also Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of the Valley of Kashmir*, p. 49

[44] Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Eng. Trans., Blochman, Vol. I, pp.97-98

[45] *Ibid*

[46] *Ibid*, p. 12; Niccolao Mannucci, *Storia do Mogar* or *Mogul India*, Eng., trans., William Irvine, Vol., II, p.347

in numerous ranges of price to suit the purses of both the middle and upper classes. [47]

Like his father, Emperor Jahangir, was also a lover of Kashmiri Shawls. He remarks in his *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir,* "the shawls of Kashmir to which my father gave the name of *parm-narm* (very soft) are very famous; there is no need to praise them (*hajat ba tarif nisht*)." [48] He categorized the shawls on the basis of material used and the way they are fashioned. According to Jahangir, other than the *parm-narm*, another kind is '*narharma*'; it is thicker than a shawl and is soft. Another is called '*darm*'; it is like a *jul-i-khirsak* and is put over a carpet. With the exception of shawls, they made other woollen material better in Tibet, though, they brought the wool for the shawls from Tibet;"[49]

Shah Jahan, the great architect sent a large number of shawl products to the rulers of south India i.e. Golconda and Bijapur. Aurangzeb and the later Mughals also were extremely fond of shawls and patronised and subsidized the shawl weaving industry. Bernier, who had the privilege of visiting while accompanying Aurangzeb, found the shawl promoting the trade of the country and filling it with wealth. He described the shawl industry in some detail, 'it is the prodigious quality of shawls, which they (Kashmiri's) manufactured which gave employment even to children,' he wrote. These shawls measured five by two and half feet, were ornamented at both ends with a sort of embroidery made in loom, a foot in length. The Mughals and Indian men and women wore them in winter around their heads passing them over the shoulders as a mantle. One sort was manufactured with the wool of country and the other with the wool of shawl goat of Tibet. [50]

In order to regulate the supply of *pashm* (wool) to shawl industry from the Ladakh many measures were taken by the rulers. For example, when in A.D1682-83, Ladakh was attacked by the Tibetans, the supply of the wool was threatened; the imperial Mughals, on

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[47] For details see P.N.K. Bamzai, *The Cultural and Political History of India*, 2 vols.,Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003, Vol., II, p. 499-500

[48] Jahangir, *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, vol. II, pp.147-148

[49] *Ibid,* p. 148; See also *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., I, p. 67, Vol., II, p. 171; *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, ed., Abdal Haiy and Ahmad Ali, p. 153

[50] Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire,* (ed. and trans.) Archibald Constable, pp.402-3

behalf of the Ladakh, forced the Qalmaq rulers of Tibet to retreat. A treaty was signed between Blabran, a steward of the Dalai Lama and the king of Ladakh in 1683. The important provisions of the treaty were:[51]

- The fine wool of goats of *Mnah-ris-Skor-gsum* (Western Tibet) would be sold no other than Kashmiris.
- The price of fine wool and the mixed with coarse be fixed at 8 *nag* to two rupee.
- Four Kashmiri merchants should reside at *Dpe-Thub* (village), and carry on bargains of wool trade.
- Except the merchants known as *Kha-Chul-ngro-rgya* (Kashmiri) no Kashmiri would be allowed to go to *Byan-than* (Central Tibet).
- Those of the Kashmiris-Ladakhis who used to go to *Byanthan* should not be allowed to go to Kashmir with loads of wool of goat.

A close examination of the provisions of the treaty clearly explicates that the Kashmiri merchants got exclusive monopoly on the purchase of the Pashm. However, it also brought into action a special middle-man or agent system that represented merchants and their capital throughout the wool raising areas of Ladakh; it eventually subordinated the actual producers to the merchants.

Acquisition of Raw Material and The Manufacturing Processes

Shawls are prepared from all sort of material like silk, angora wool, Pashmina etc. But what Kashmir is principally known throughout the world is its Shawl made from the very fine wool known as *Pushm* or *Pashm*- stuff not produced in Kashmir proper itself; it is a soft down fiber lying under the long hair of the goat known as *Capra hircus* found in the Karakorum ranges.[52] Especially throughout the medieval times Ladakh regularly supplied

[51] Cf. Abdul Ahad, *Kashmir to Frankfurt*, Rima Publishers, Delhi, 1987, pp. 18-19; See also A. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Vol., II, pp. 115-117; One *batti* was equal to one *nag* and the price of the *40 nags* was fixed at *one rupee*. The amount was to be paid both in money and kind.

[52] Sir Francis Younghusband, *Kashmir*, City Books, p. 103; See also W Von Bergen, *Wool Hand Book*, Vol., I, London, 1963. It was imported from western and central Tibet and even beyond from Kashgar and Central Turkistan.

Pashm to Kashmir.[53] It was so because the Ladakhis were religiously bound to sell it to only Kashmiri merchant's remarks William Moorcraft.[54]

The merchants known as *'bakals'* later on *'Wani'* had their own store houses, soon after the arrival of the merchandise mainly from Ladakh, the local merchants known as *pashm Faroshs (*or wool retailers) and *bakals* (*pashm* importers) were invited and transactions were carried on through a broker (or *Mokyem*); after a thorough discussion the prices were fixed, and some nominal amount were advanced to the merchant. The broker was also given some amount in lieu of his services.[55] The wool received, locally known as *Kyl-phumb* of which the shawls are textured in its raw state was a mixture of dust, grass, thorns, coarse hair and fleece.[56] The shawl wool dealer (*pasham farosh*) supplied the coarse hair to women and children to separate the fleece from the other particles in order to spin the wool into yarn. [57] The yarn was purchased by the *karkhandars* (factory owners) from the *pashm farosh*. The *karkhandar* was the proprietor of the weaving shop employed artisans and paid them in cash. In the *Karkhanas* (factories) the workwomen were busily employed on whole time basis strictly in accordance with a complex system of social division of labour and under such rules and regulations which resulted in the development of the simple capitalistic mode of production.[58] As regards the social division of labour, it was thoroughly deepened not

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[53] Moorcraft, Travels, Vol., I, p. 347. The habitat of these goats was not restricted to Ladakh but they were also found in China, Tibet, Russia, Afghanistan and Iran. For details see M. Ryder, Cashmere, mohair, and other Luxury animal fibres for breeders and spinners, Osprey close, 1987. However, important to mention here we do not know the quantity of shawl wool imported during our period. But as per the information given by Moorcraft, a near contemporary it was about 800 horse loads were imported annually each weighing about 23 traks. Moorcraft, *Travels,* Vol., II, p.165

[54] *Ibid*, p. 348

[55] For details See Abdul Ahad, *Kashmir to Frankfurt*, pp. 18-40; A.H. Francke, *op. cit., Vol.,* II, pp. 116-119. Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit., Vol.,* II, pp. 166-67; G.T. Vigne, *op. cit*., *Vol.,* II, pp. 132-33; Also see A.I Chicherov, *India-Economic Development,* p. 159, 217.

[56] Moorcraft have been analysed the various external particles comprising raw wool as-one and half seer *Coarse hair,* 3/8 seers *seconds (phir),* two and half *dust and other things,* 9 seers *fine wool*. *Travels*, Vol., II, p. 168

[57] Moorcraft, *Travels,* Vol., II, p. 347

[58] This mode of production manifested itself in (a) the intensification of the social division of labour, (b) the development of the productive forces, (c) the improvements of

only to improve the quality of products but also to run internal administration of the *Karkhanas* most effectively. In the textile *Karkhanas* there were more than twelve separate groups of the workmen working under head craftsmen called as *ustad* or *vosta*.[59]

Before *Pasham* could be spun into thin and delicate yarn it proceeded through processes like Combing, Sorting, Weighing, Seasoning, Spinning, drying, and wrapping. According to Aldred F. Barker, the method which is employed for this finest wool "is to wash (probably on the goat's back) and then comb the fibre by hand on a small comb (termed a kangi) which enables the operator to remove all the short fibres and to leave for spinning only the larger fibres, these being arranged in tufts of parallel fibres of convenient size for the spinner to manipulate. In pashmina combing there are some ten operation, Picking out strong hairs by hand; (2) Mixing fine fibres with "Rice-flower"; (3) Straightening by hand; (4) Straightening on the comb; (5) Drawing from the comb; (6) Removal of the "noil" or short fibre from the teeth of the comb; (7) Second straightening on the comb ; (8) Second drawing from the comb; (9) Second removal of "noil" from the comb; (10) Formation by hand - straightening of fibres in a cluster (technically termed "top") ready for spinning[60] which was done on traditional *charkhas*, called *inders.* As per the information gathered by the Scholar from one of the *Shawlbaf* the following is the traditional method of Pashmina Shawl making:[61]

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techniques and designs, (d) transformation of small scale into large scale production (e) the formation of the merchant's capital. Cf. Abdul Ahad, *Kashmir: Triumphs and Tragedies,* p. 148

59 From among these workmen following were most important- *Vechenawunwool* (spinner), *Ranrez* (dyer), *Nakatu* (warp-maker), *Naqash* (designer), *Tara-gur* (reckoner), *Talim-gur* (script writer), *Rafu-gur* (fine darners), *Tab-gur* (twister), *Alakaband* (realer), *Puraz-gur* (Cleaner), *Woever* (weaver), *Shawlbaf* (Shawl-weaver), *Kalbaf* (carpet weaver). *Ibid,* pp. 148-149; All these technical terms and the professionals involved in the process of its manufacture bear purely Persian names, thus shows the Influence of the Central Asian Culture even in the arts and crafts.

60 Cf. Aldred F. Barker, "The Textile Industries of Kashmir", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 80, No. 4134, February 12th, 1932, pp.309-326. Accessed: 20/03/2013 04:44. See Charles Girdlestone, *op.cit,* p. 28-29. For Craft production and technology used in the manufacture of Shawls see Abdul Ahad, *op.cit,* pp. 23-60 Aldred F. Barker, "The Textile Industries of Kashmir", *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, Vol. 80, No. 4134, February 12th, 1932, pp.309-326.

61 Tariq Ahmad Rofgar, Aged 52, Srinagar, 24-6-2015

Pashmina goat = Combing = Raw Pashmina = Sorting (*puch nawun*) = Fine Pashmina (*Phumb*) = Combing = Weighing = Seasoning (*Khariot*) = Combing = Top (*Thumb*) = Plying on Charka (*Yander Katun*) = Yarn (Pun) = Washing = Dying (*Rangrez,* it is optional) = Gluing (Maya) = Winding of thread = Making of warp (yarun) = Warp (yaen) = Warper =Weaving of Shawl = Tweezed = Washing = Finishing of fabric = SHAWL

Shawls were principally divided into *Kani-shawl* (Twill Tapestry) and Amli-Shawl. The former was introduced by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. With the help of small sticks called '*Tuj*' bobbins, squares pieces of various sizes with famous designs like *Pasbming Kani, Jora Kani, Qasaba Kani, Shah Pasand* (red coloured also called *Shah Tus*), *Tamvar* and *Hashiya* were prepared. The preparation of this kind required greatest concentration and skilled masters (*Ustads).*[62] Amli-Shawl was introduced by Emperor Akbar in which needle-work (*sozankari)* was done, it was comparatively easy. The cloth was woven on the traditional looms of different measurement.[63] They were mostly made in the form of *Qasaba, Romals, scarves, Patka, Du-shal, Qaba, Kamar band* and *Langoota.*[64] The stuff prepared in the workshops (*Kharkhanas),* which according to the author of Haft Iqlim, numbered two thousand[65] and Srinagar alone, at the end of 18th century contained 24000 looms on which Shawls were woven, giving employment to 72000 weavers.[66]

The garments stored in the imperial wardrobe were arranged in accordance with their prices, varieties, weights and colours. According to Abul Fazl, following was the order of colours, *tus, safid alcha*, ruby-coloured, golden, orange, brass coloured, crimson, grass green, cotton-flower coloured, sandalwood-coloured, almond-coloured, purple, grape-coloured, *mauve* like the colour of some parrots, honey-coloured, brownish lilac,

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62 Simply to put it, the shawls were manufactured in Kashmir in two ways loom made shawls (called *tili* or *kani*) and hand-made shawls (called *amli*). See Abdul Ahad, *op.cit*, pp. 35-45; G.T. Vigne, op.cit, Vol., II, p. 128

63 Lahori, *Badshahnama* Vol., II, p. 404; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., I, p. 74

64 Abul Fazl, *Ain*-i-Akbari, Vol., I, pp. 73-74

65 Razi, *Haft Iqlim*, f, 156a quoted by Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 248

66 Srinagar was the chief centre of the shawl industry. *Ain*-i-Akbari, Vol., II, p. 171. According to Moorcraft, (p. 179) number of looms varied from three hundred to many more. As per G.T. Vigne, (op.cit, Vol., I, p. 358) Islamabad contains a few houses of shawl-weavers. Three artisans worked on one loom thus were 24000 multiply by 3= 72000. A.I Chicherov, *India-Economic Development,* p. 216

coloured like the *Ratanmanjani* flower, coloured like the *kasni* flower, apple-coloured, hay-coloured, pistachio, *bhoj patra* coloured, pink, light blue, coloured like the *galghah* flower, water-coloured, oil-coloured, brown red, emerald, bluish like Chinaware, violet, bright pink, mango coloured, musk-coloured, coloured like the Fakhta.[67]

The factories also sold the texture to the shawl merchants, who had warehouses in different parts like China, Turkistan, Lasa, Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan and Bengal.[68] In order to attract the customers the merchants organized daily trade fairs. The payments from these places were mostly made in *hundis*. Moreover, the merchants from Persia, Russia and Turkistan and Afghanistan came to Kashmir to purchase the shawls.[69] Kashmir shawls were exported, although very late to European countries, and were gracefully draped by the European ladies over their outfit, of course in an Indo-European style. As per M. Danvergue, "the first shawl which reached Europe was brought by Napoleon at the time of his campaign in Egypt, as a present to Empress Josephine."[70]

Prices

The price of an ordinary piece of shawl such as *(goshpech)* $1^1/2$ yards long costs one to two rupees.[71] In 1783, George Forster wrote "the price, at the loom, of an ordinary shawl, is eight rupees, thence in proportional quality, it produces from fifteen to twenty; and I have seen a very fine piece sold at forty rupees, the first cost. But the value of this commodity may be largely enhanced by the introduction of flowered work; and when you are informed that the sum of one hundred rupees is occasionally given for a shawl to the weaver, the half amount may be fairly ascribed to the ornaments."[72] The cost of the

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67 Abul Fazl, *Ain*-i-Akbari, Vol., I, p. 68

68 Ipolitio Desideri, *An Account of his Travels (1717-27 A.D)*, pp. 122-123, 130

69 Sulakhan Singh and Showkat Ahmad Dar, 'Shawl Industry in Kashmir Under the Mughals, (1586-1752 A. D)', *Journal of Languages and Culture, Vol., 5(4), November, 2014, pp. 54-58;* See also Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of the Valley of Kashmir,* p. 49

70 M. Danvergue, as quoted by F. Younghusband, *Kashmir,* pp. 211-212. See also Pierce Gravis, *This is Kashmir,* London, 1954, pp. 135-136. Suzanne Daly, "Kashmir Shawls in Mid Victorian Novels", *Victorian Literature and Culture,* Cambridge University Press, Vol. 30, No. 1 (2002), pp. 237-255 Accessed: 19/03/2013 00:53

71 Abul Fazl, *Ain*-i-Akbari, Vol., I, p. 46

72 Forster, *op. cit., Vol.,* II, pp. 18-19

Cheerah Shawl was from two rupees to twenty- five *mohurs;* shawl *foteh* from a half to three *mohurs*; and shawl *Jamah* from a half to four *mohurs.*[73] The price of the *tus* shawl ranged from 50 to 150 rupees.[74] Even, during the rule of Afghans, who were immediate successors of the Mughals in Kashmir, the price of well embroidered shawl did not go beyond Rs 150, says George Forster.[75] However, the lavish shawls were also embroidered and disposed at extraordinary prices even beyond the capacity of the affluent, so were for the exclusive privilege of the emperors. Such shawls fetched thousands of rupees per piece. [76] Bernier, thus, rightly observed that Kashmir derived much of its wealth from this industry.[77]

Working Conditions and The Position of The Weavers

As soon as Kashmir fell into the hands of the Mughals, they like other lucrative industries declared Shawl industry as a government undertaking industry. However, they took special interests in the royal *Karkhanas* which were found all over the country. It can be gleaned from the remarks of the Abul Fazl, that, "the imperial workshops in the (various) towns turnout many master piece of workmanship and the figures and pattern's knots and variety of fashions which now prevail astonish experienced travellers".[78] Each of the *Karkhana,* says Bernier, had many branches with expert craftsmen, busy in systematising the production experience, enabling the weavers, embroiderers, the dyers and the like; to

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73 Sulakhan Singh and Showkat Ahmad Dar, 'Shawl Industry in Kashmir Under the Mughals, (1586-1752 A. D)', *Journal of Languages and Culture, Vol., 5(4), November, 2014, pp. 54-58; Jamawar* was a brocaded cloth made of cotton thread, silk and wool costing not more than ninety rupees. See *Dasturul-Amal-i-Asar-i-Alamgiri,* f. 70

74 Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire,* p. 143

75 George Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England through Northern Parts of India,* Vol., II, p.18

76 *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* f. 132b; Desideri, *Travels,* p. 73; During the Dogra period i.e. in 1870 the price of best shawls varied from Rs.350 to 1800, the square ones fetched Rs.200 to 1200. Charles Girdlestone, *Memorandum on Kashmir,* Calcutta 1873, p. 26

77 In the words of Bernier "what may be considered peculiar to Kashmir, and the staple commodity which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth, is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture and which gives occupation even to little children." Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire* (ed. and Trans.) Archibald Constable, pp.403

78 *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol.1, pp.93-94

bring up their children as weavers, embroiderers and dyers respectively.[79] The goods manufactured were intended, almost exclusively for the use by the royalty, the nobility, rich merchants and for the army.[80] For the proper maintenance of the *Karkhanas, Mir-i-Saman* was placed in charge of the internal working of the *Karkhanas*. He was supposed to submit the statement, twice a year, giving full description of the articles produced and the materials used.[81] To look after the shawl *karkhanas* of Kashmir, a special officer named Qalandar Beg was appointed.[82]

All this suggests that certain improvements did take place to make the Kashmiri industry (particularly Shawl Industry) better than what it was previously. This could also be vivid in terms of the increase in the number of *Karkhanas*. In the beginning, the number of such *Karkhanas* i.e. Shawl-weaving units was registered at 400, which subsequently increased to 1,000.[83] In the time of Emperor Akbar, there were 2000 looms[84] and it was 40,000 during the reign of the Jahangir.[85] Each *Karkhana* or shop employed 3 persons at a time, which means 1, 20,000 were directly engaged in this industry, besides female population of the towns and cities.[86] Moreover, Francois Bernier reported that it also provided employment to large number of children as well.[87] With the

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79 F. Bernier, *op. cit*., pp. 258-259

80 The big centres or royal *Karkhanas* were found in Kashmir, Lahore, Agra, Ahmadabad, Fatehpur and Burhanpur.

81 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* Eng., trans., p.96; J. N. Sarkar, op.cit, p. 9. The term "*Mir-i-Saman"* was not in use under the Akbar. It became commonly used under Jahangir, Shahjahan and under Aurangzeb and afterwards, as the chief executive officer of the supply department.

82 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Trans., Vol., III, p. 725

83 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., I, ff. 74ab

84 Razi, *Haft Iqlam*, f. 156a vide M. Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 248; See also P N K Bamazi, *op.cit*, p. 503

85 George Forster, *op.cit*, Vol., II, p.20

86 Each loom giving employment 2 to 4 at a time, thus mean is three. See Elphistone, *Kingdom of Kabul*, II, p. 240

87 Bernier, *op. cit*., p. 402; Schonberg a 20th century traveller states that "the son of five years of age enters into the Karkhana on the business and his wages are proportionate to his baby exertions. As he advances in age and skill, his pay is raised subject to the usual taxation." Schonberg, *Travels*, Vol., II, London, 1853, p. 104

decline of the Mughal rule in Kashmir, the number of the Shawl looms decreased to 16, 000 during the Afghan rule.[88]

All this suggests that the industry was in flourishing state providing employment to the large number of people in Kashmir; however, the information on the economic position of the 'actual workers' i.e. the shawl weavers, is extremely scanty and very few incidental details are available in the contemporary literature. It is imperative to note that their position and fortunes fluctuated with the passage of the time and changing of empire from the Sultanate to the Mughals, the Afghans, and the Sikhs. They were mostly poor and had a miserable life.[89] According to Bernier, they were quite often victims of operation of their masters (*karkhandars*).[90] They were meagrely paid; however, they received payment in the form of cash rather than in kind, as was the case in the times of the Sultans.[91] About the rates, received by the weavers during the peak period, our sources are silent but, according to Nath Pandith, during the late Mughals it was 14 *annas* per *gaz-i-Akbari* and for the Bengal motif one and half rupee was paid.[92] Lala Genesh Das in his '*Siyahat-i-Kashmir'* records that wages were paid according to the number of sticks of *pashm* thread prepared by each one, who could work the stick in Woof and Warf one thousand times, was reckoned to have performed work worth one stick.[93]

In spite of change in the wage system, the workmen were treated as share slaves whose services were forced through coercion and captivity and terms of payment were

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88 If multiplied with three, it means at least 48000 weavers were employed. The main reason for the decrease in the looms was the decline of the Mughal Empire particularly its liquidation in Kashmir as well as the heavy excise duties, George Foster, *op.cit,* II, p. 22. When Kashmir came under the rule of Dogras (1846) the total number of workshops was 6000.

89 *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* I, ff. 134b, 135a; *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* Habib Ganj collection, 32/150, ff. 285ab. See also Khwaja Muhammad Azam Diddamari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, J&K Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001, p. 292

90 Francois Bernier, op.cit, 254-56; Moorcroft & Trebeck, *op. cit*., II, p. 178

91 *Ibid,* p. 392; Abul Fazl, *op.cit,* p. 90

92 Nath Pandit, *Gulshan-i-Dastur,* f. 535b; According to G.T. Vigne (p. 120) who visited Kashmir during the first half of 19th century (Sikh Rule), the daily wages of common artisans was four annas a day.

93 Lala Genesh Das, *Siyahat-i-Kashmir*, p. 33 says that the shawl-weavers were paid two to six annas a day.

fixed and arbitrarily. In the words of a contemporary Bernier, "when an *umara* or masabdar requires the services of an Kashmiri artisan he sends him to bazaar for him, employing force, if necessary, to make the poor work, and after the task is finished the unfeeling lord pays, not according to the value of labour, but agreeably to his own standard of fair remuneration, the artisan having reason to congratulation himself if the *kora* [lash] has been given in part payment".[94]

As already stated, due to deficiency of the source material very little is known about the condition of the Karkhanas. However, on the basis of later accounts, it can be said that these Karkhanas were dark and dingy. According to Emilie, a medical missionary in Kashmir, who studied closely factory conditions, writes that they were so bad, as to cause "chest infection, rheumatism and scrofula" to the workmen.[95]

From many sayings, yet in vogue in Kashmir like "*bangi atsun tat sang nariun*" clearly gives the idea of the long working hours. But, this too, is a fact that they eked out a secure living from their profession and never starved, though they seldom were in opulent circumstances.[96] It is also important to mention here that they had not been reckoned as a respectable class. In any case, their lot was very far from being enviable. Many pithy sayings concerning them are current even now, and these would describe their plight in an unmistakable manner. Even now, whenever circumstances urge somebody to use an inferior stuff, where a better stuff should have been used, the man on enquiry would without a movement's thought retort with an old saying "*Sin muhima sochal, raian muhima khandawav*", which in English means "famine of vegetable will force you to eat *sauchal* (a wild grown vegetable) and dearth of good husbands will compel a women to choose a shawl weaver."[97] Similarly, if a lady from the common folk of Kashmir has to curse a lady in the neighbourhood or otherwise, would say, "May you get a shawl weaver for a husband."[98]

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94 Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, (ed. and trans.,) Archibald Constable, p. 402.

95 Cf. C. E. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, p. 33

96 George Forester, *Travels Accounts*, p.22

97 Jai Lal Kilam, *Kashmir Then and Now*, pp.207-208

98 Charles Ellison Bates, *Gazetteer*, Delhi, 1873, p. 33

In view of all these facts, it can be said with certainty that the shawl industry is as "old as the hills of Kashmir" progressed with the passing tide of the time; rulers supported this industry, as to have it, was a symbol of prestige. During the Mughal period, of the study the manufacture of Shawls reached its zenith and a solid base was provided to develop on the lines of simple capitalistic mode of production. The artisans mastered in new techniques and designs, but were reduced to a state of semi bondage, perpetuated by social compulsion and lived in wretched plight with the meagre wages.

B SERICULTURE AND SILK INDUSTRY

Among the other important industries which developed during the Mughal rule in Kashmir, Silk Industry is worth noting. Important to note that nothing definite is known about the origin of the Silk industry in Kashmir; beyond the fact that it is very ancient industry.[99] As per the research of Madusudan Ganju, silk industry had a long standing in Kashmir, however, no explicit evidence has been offered in support of this assumption by the Scholar, other than that of the grown of mulberry tree since antiquity in Kashmir.[100] Moti Chandra, in his well known work, "*Costumes, Textiles and Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India"*, incorrectly opines that silk-weaving was in operation during ancient Kashmir.[101] Interesting to note that what the renowned scholar identifies as silk weaving was actually *pattu* weaving *(pattavanam*).[102]

The first firm evidence of the manufacturing of silken cloths in Kashmir does not go beyond the times of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (1420-1460) and the authorship of the *Jaina Rajatarangini*. According to Srivara, the industry attained an unusual degree of excellence at the hands of Central Asian weavers, who introduced shuttle and loom; thus, improved the method of its weaving in the valley.[103] It was during the rule of Mirza

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99 From all accounts available, it seems that the original home of Silk is China. For details see Mohammad Ismail Parrey, *History of Silk Industry in Jammu and Kashmir*, 1846-1947, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Kashmir University, Chapter II

100 Madusudan Ganju, *Textile Industries in Jammu and Kashmir State*, Delhi, 1945, pp.190-192

101 Moti Chandra, *Costumes, Textiles and Coiffure in Ancient and Medieval India*, Oriental Publishers, Delhi, 1973, p.237; P.N.K. Bamzai, *op. cit*., p. 502

102 See Kalhana, *Rajatarangini*, Book, V, Eng., trans., Stein, verse, 162

103 Srivara, *Jaina Rajatarangini*, pp. 151-52

Haider Daughlat (A.D 1541-51), the Silk worms were reared on extensive scale, and for their food mulberry trees were cultivated. The abundance of the mulberry trees in Kashmir, and to the fact that people would not allow the leaves to be used for any other purpose, other than that reserved exclusively food for silkworm, puzzled Mirza Haider who says: "among the wonders of Kashmir are the numbers of mulberry trees, cultivated for their leaves for the production of the silk."[104] In order to boost the silk industry, the Kashmiris also imported silk worm eggs from Gilgit and Tibet, where they were procured in bulk, argued Abul-Fazl and Jahangir.[105] The industry appears to have been promising, as according to Abul Fazl, some of its stuffs were sent to Lahore, the dresses made from silk were worn on the festival occasions by the king and the nobles; it was also bestowed as *Khilats* by them to their favourites. [106] On account of its lucrative nature was declared as imperial undertaking industry as soon as Kashmir fell in the lap of Mughal Imperialism.[107] It is, however, necessary to note that the Industry did not make much headway during the period under, as the production of silk was relatively small when compared with Bengal, the other chief producing area; it was worked up locally, and did not appear to have been extensive, says Moreland.[108] Less flourishing nature of the Industry can also be gleaned from the fact that the said industry did not find any place in the travelogues of the travellers who visited Kashmir during the Mughals; for example, Bernier in his narrative has given full details of the shawl industry, wood work and many other industries, but has not mentioned about the Silk Industry.[109] Furthermore, for want of literature, it cannot be said with certainty, whether sericulture contributed to the revenue of the state or not. However, it might have had, as it is now, provided additional work to the peasants during the off season.

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[104] Mirza Haider Dughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* Eng., Trans., p.425

[105] *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol. II, Eng., Trans., p.353; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., Trans., Vol., II, p.146

[106] *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol., I, p. 65; Bernier, *op. cit.,* p. 403; See also Showkat A Dar, op.cit, p. 55

[107] *Ain- i- Akbari*, Eng., Trans., Vol., II, p. 170

[108] W.H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar: An Economic Study*, LPP, Delhi, 1995, pp. 173, 175

[109] For details see Francois Bernier, "*Travels in the Mughal Empire*". However, it does not mean that it was totally absent.

C CARPET INDUSTRY

The carpet industry owes its origin to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who is said to have invited some carpet weavers from Samarqand and settled them in the valley with full state patronage. It is important to mention that Sayyid Ali is the lone authority known so far, who refers to the origin of this industry to this generous Sultan.[110] However, he has wrongly mentioned that Shahi Khan (Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin) was made captive by Timur Lang, when he invaded India, and was only released, after the latter's death. It is interesting to note that the imprisonment of Shahi Khan by Timur is far from being exact because at the time of his invasion of India, Shahi Khan (Zain-ul-Abidin) was not even born. The industry flourished for a long time after his reign says Sufi and the others, but, in course of time, it decayed and died.[111]

It was in the reign of Emperor Jahangir the industry showed signs of revival, owing to the efforts of governor Ahmad Beg Khan (A.D 1616-1618), a Kashmiri Muslim named Akhun Rahnuma, went to perform the Hajj pilgrimage via Central Asia. On his way back, he visited Andijan, the capital of Furgana (Persia), where carpets were manufactured. He learnt the art and brought carpet weaving tools with him and taught the art to the Kashmiris who eventually stuck to it.[112]

From the point of weaving, the carpets are broadly divided into two classes, smooth faced carpets and the pile carpets. Daniel Walker, Curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) has described pile woven carpets of the Mughal era as "among the most beautiful works of art ever created". They (Pile carpets-*Kalin)* attained great perfection and worked with various designs like mosques, gardens, and wild animals etc. The flora and fauna of different lands – Kashmir, Central Asia and Iran were depicted on the carpets of Kashmir in the harmony, symbolic of transitional syntheses of

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110 *Sayyid Ali*, f. 15b. All the source material at our disposal both local and centre, are silent on the origin of Carpet Industry.

111 G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p. 286. See also Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, 1846-1947: a study in socio-cultural change, Aamir Publications, 1978, p.65

112 J. Bashir, "Carpet Industry: A Survey", Pakistan and Gulf Economist (Karachi) Volume XI , March 1982, PP. 13-16; See also G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir,* pp.284-286; D. N. Saraf, *Art and Crafts Jammu and Kashmir: land, people and culture,* Abhinav Publishers, New Delhi, 1987, p.64

Kashmir's diverse cults and cultures.[113] The carpet industry in Kashmir flourished simultaneously with the shawl industry, and the Kashmiri carpets were considered superior to the Persian carpets. The cost of a yard of superior quality exceeds over a hundred rupees.[114] They found ready market in India, as per Simon Digby, "the group of 17th century *Persianate* carpets from the shrine of the '*Athar Mahal* at Bijapur' is said to have been received by Muhammad Adil Shah from Kashmir in A, H 1067/ 1657. These carpets were probably among those that have been preserved in the museum of the Gol Gumbaz in Bijapur. Technical examination could support the possibility that they were the products of a short lived karkhana in the Kashmir valley".[115]

The well established textile industry in Kashmir during the Mughal period gave birth to other cottage industries like spinning, dyeing, and embroidery.[116]

D. PAPER INDUSTRY

Like other industries, the Paper making (rag paper) is also said to have been introduced during the Sultanate period and it was Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who patronised and established it in *Naw Shahr*, his official residence.[117] As per the anonymous author of *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, in order to train the people in the art of Paper making, Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin sent many people to Samarqand; after receiving the training they taught this art to others, thus *Kaghaz gari* (Paper making) became popular in Kashmir.[118] Thus, to say upto Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's reign, the material used for writing was *bhurja bark*, which

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113 S.C. Bhatt, Gopal Bhargava (ed.), *Land and People of Indian States and Union Territories*, Kalpaz Publishers, Delhi, 2006, p.273

114 Lahori, *Badshahnama*, I, part-I, p. 448 quoted by A. M. Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, p.224

115 Simon Digby, Export Industries and Handicrafts Production under the Sultans of Kashmir, *The India Economic and Social History Review*, 44, 4/2007, p.433

116 *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol., I, p. 92; Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, p. 403

117 See Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 380. In his time there were still 36 families dedicated towards this work. See also Mohammad Ishaq Khan, *History of Srinagar*, p.7. This industry also flourished in other parts of the valley like Phag Pargana. See G. T. Vigne, II, p . 121

118 The trained people were gifted rent- free land grants for imparting training to those interested in the craft, free of charges. *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, f. 22b-23a

was regarded as one of the wonders of Kashmir, and was sent outside as present.[119] Abul Fazl corroborates this, as Kashmiris "write chiefly on *Tuz* which is the bark of a tree, worked into sheets with some rude art and which keeps for years. All their ancient documents are written on this. Their ink is so prepared as to be indelible by washing".[120]

Five kinds of paper like *Farmashi, Damashti*, *Kalamdani, Lata farosh* and *Ranga mas* were manufactured in Kashmir and the best of which were superior to that made in the plains.[121]However, so for as, paper manufacture (rag paper) in Kashmir is concerned our contemporary sources are silent. However, on the basis of the information furnished by Walter Lawrence, following technique was used:[122]

> "The pulp from which the paper is made is a mixture of rags and hemp fibre, obtained by pounding these materials under a lever mill worked by water-power. Lime and some kind of soda are used to whiten the pulp, which is taken from the mills in the Sind Valley and the Dachigam Nullah to the factory in the city. The pulp is then placed in stone troughs or baths and mixed with water, and from this mixture a layer of the pulp is extracted on a light frame of reeds. This layer is the paper, which is pressed and dried in the sun. Next it is polished with pumice stone, and then its surface is glazed with rice water. A final polishing with onyx stone is given, and the paper is then ready for use."

George Forster, a near contemporary says that, "the Kashmirians fabricated the best writing paper of the East", which was formerly "an article of extensive traffic."[123] It was of silky texture and glossy appearance and possessed the quality that once the ink had

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[119] Nizam-ud-din Ahmad, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 604. In the Oriental Research Library Srinagar few bhurja manuscripts are still preserved.

[120] Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol., II, p. p. 354

[121] Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir,* p. 380. See also G.T. Vigne, Vol., II, p. 121

[122] *Ibid.* Another traveller G.T. Vigne (Vol., II, p. 121) who visited Kashmir during the first quarter of nineteenth century says:

> "*The dipping frame is made of a kind of reed, which is found only near the Shalimar. It grows to about a yard in height, and is of the thickness of a common bell-wire. Every sheet of each kind is smeared with rice paste, by the hand encased in goat's hair and afterwards spread over a board of wild pear tree, and polished with a piece of agate. The rag is first mashed in mills near Shalimar, and then mixed up with colour at the manufactory. The best paper, which is used for Korans, is made with wild hemp, beaten up with the rag in equal parts.*"

[123] Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England through the Northern part of India, Kashmir,* Vol., II, p. 19

been washed off; it could again be used for writing.[124] It was in great demand in India, where it was used for writing the Holy Qurans, valuable documents and painting.[125] Moreover, a large quantity of paper was also exported to Persia from Ahmadabad, which was presumably brought from Kashmir.[126]

E PAPIER-MÂCHÉ AND CALLIGRAPHY

The manufacture of the paper reminds us of another industry which may rightly be said to be peculiar to Kashmir, namely, *papier mache*. This craft was introduced by Zain-ul-Abidin, who imported experts from Persia , which is mostly inhabited by the Shia community. Owing to this, the industry had ever since been confined to Shias.[127] *Papier mache* is a 'mashed paper' and the term embraces numerous manufactures in which paper pulp is employed, pressed and moulded into various shapes. The papier mache work or lacquered work was also called *Kar-i-Qalamdani*, as being confined to ornamentation of cases then used for keeping pens (*Qalamdan)* as well as some other small personal articles.[128] The craft was also called *Kar-i- munaqash* (Painted ware) since it was used for ornamenting smooth surface made of paper pulp or layers of polished paper. [129] The industry reached its apogee during the Mughal period, when the art was extended to palanquins, ceilings, bedsteads, doors and windows. According to Moorcraft, 'variety of articles likes trays, boxes, palquins, elephants, walls and ceilings of rooms were painted and styled with *papier mache,* thus, were in great demand in Delhi and other provincial capitals. [130]

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124 Shaikh Yaqub Sarfi, a Kashmiri scholar in one of his letter addressed to Abdul Qadir Badauni says, "If you should have any need of Kashmir paper for rough notes and drafts, I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmir the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing on which can be washed from the paper as completely that no trace of the ink will remain as you yourself have seen." *Muntakhabut Tawarikh*, Eng., Trans., Ranking& Haig, Vol., II,p.202

125 *Ibid*

126 Cf. Abdul Majid Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, 1586-1752, Golden Horde Enterprises, Kashmir, 1988, p. 222

127 Ishaq Khan, op.cit, p. 51; Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir,* p. 378; See also S. R. Bakshi, *Kashmir through Ages,* Surup and Sons, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1996, p.221

128 Ishaq Khan, op.cit, p. 52;

129 Mohibbul Hassan, *op.cit,* pp.91-93; Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir,* p.289

130 Moorcroft, *Travels,* vol., II, p. 216. See D. N. Saraf*, Art and Crafts Jammu and Kashmir: land, people and culture*, Abhinav Publishers, New Delhi, 1987, p.124; Bamzai, *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir,* Vol., II, p.503; Showkat A Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of the Valley of Kashmir,* p. 58

Being a great patron of the art of Calligraphy *(khatati)* and painting, the Mughals admired and appreciated Kashmiri craftsmen. We come to know from Abul Fazl, the court historian, that of all the talented calligraphers, employed by Emperor Akbar, the most skilled was a Kashmiri-Muhammad Husain, who was honoured with the title of *Zarrin-Qalam* ((the golden pen).[131] While lauding the extraordinary genius of Muhammad Husain Kashmiri, Abul Fazl says, "the artist who in the shadow of the throne of His Majesty has become a master of calligraphy. He surpassed his master, Maulana Abd al-Aziz; his *maddat* (extensions) and *dawa'ir* (caricatures) show everywhere a proper proportion to each other and the art critics consider him equal to Moulana Mir Ali."[132] Mullah Baqir, master of Nastaliq, Naskh and Shikast was patronised by Emperor Shah Jahan.[133]

F WOOD WORK

It was among the ancient industries of Kashmir; however, it is important to mention that in the pre-Sultanate era, wood was mostly confined to the boat building and to the house construction. The industry had failed to receive the state patronage, which is apparent by the extensive stone architecture, which prevailed throughout the length and breadth of Kashmir. In fact, thus, not unwise to say wood work industry flourished more particularly during Sultanate era and an eloquent proof of the fact is that the palaces of the Sultans, buildings, bridges and religious edifices like Khanqah-i-Moulla, Jamia Masjid, shrine of Makhdum Sahib etc show the great dexterity in the carpenter's craft. [134] A speciality in Kashmir wood work, known as *Khatamband (*ornamental ceiling) and *Tabdan tarasht* (lattice work) was in a flourishing state. Kashmir produced excellent wood work, says François Bernier, and 'they (Kashmiris) are also active and industrious. The

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131 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng., Trans, H. Blochman, Vol., I, p. 109. See also Brigid Keenan, *Travels in Kashmir: A popular history of its people, place and craft*, p.187

132 *Ibid.* Mir 'Ali was a great painter who invented the feminine and dancing script known as *Nastali. See* D.Barrett, "The Islamic Art of Persia" in *The Legacy of Persia*, pp.138-39. Mustafizur Rahman, *Islamic Calligraphy in Medieval India*, p. 76. The other renowned calligraphists attached to Akbar's court were Ali Chaman Kashmiri, Mulla Muhammad Murad and Mulla Mohsin. Emperor Jahangir was so much impressed by the art of Murad and Mohsin that he bestowed upon them the title of *Zarin Qalam* and *Shirin Qalam(sweet pen*) respectively. See Shamas al-Din, *Shah Hamdan: Hayat Aur Karnamay*, p.312; G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p. 286.

133 G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p. 286; Bamzai, *op.cit*, p. 592

134 For a detailed discussion on wooden architecture see Mohibbul Hassan, *op.cit*, pp.265-270. See Lawrence, *op. cit*., p. 379; P.N.K. Bamzai, *op. cit.*, p. 492

workmanship and beauty of their palekys, bedsteads, trunks, inkstands, boxes, spoons, and various other things are quite remarkable, and articles of their manufacture are in use in every part of the Indies. They perfectly understand the art of varnishing, and are eminently skilful in closely imitating the beautiful veins of a certain wood, by inlaying with gold threads, so delicately wrought that I never saw anything more elegant or perfect".[135] This industry, says Abul Fazl, drove a very thriving trade in Kashmir.[136]

The boat-building industry of Kashmir was of great importance. Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* shows that boats were the centre upon which all commerce moved.[137] They have "their own special way of building boats and very clever they are at their art. I have always been interested in boats and building but I had never come across boats built as in Kashmir." remarks Tyndale Biscoe.[138] There were many kinds of boats. The large one was called '*Bahat'* had a high prow and stern, and was used for transport of grains and wood. The smaller is known as '*War'* has a low prow. One of the most common forms of boat is the '*Dunga'*. This was a flat- bottomed and had a sloping roof of matting, and side walls of a similar material. The '*Shikara'* was a small edition of *dunga;* was used for the general conveyance of the people.[139] It was during the first visit of Emperor Akbar, says Abul Fazl, he introduced some new type of boats fashioned after the Gujarat and Bengal models, 'which was much admired' in Kashmir.[140] According to Forster, who visited Kashmir in 1783, writes, "The boats of Kashmir were mostly "long and narrow, and are rowed with paddles: from the stern, which is a little elevated, to the centre, a tilt of mats is extended for the shelter of passengers or merchandize".[141]

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[135] François Bernier, *op. cit*., p. 402; See also Mirza Haider Dughlat, *op.cit,* p. 434; G.T. Vigne, *op. cit*., Vol., II, p. 122

[136] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Eng., Trans, Vol., II, p. 355

[137] There number varies as in *Akbar Nama,* Abul Fazl mentions that there were 30,000 boats in the valley: *Akbar Nama,* III, p. 550. However, according to Mutamad Khan, there were, 5,700 boats, and the number of the boatmen was fixed at 7,400: *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, ed. Abdal-Hay and Ahad Ali, p. 149; See also *Tuzuk*, p. 298

[138] Tyndale Biscoe, *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade,* p. 169

[139] Lawrence, *op. cit*., p. 381; G.M.D. Sufi, *Islamic Culture in Kashmir*, p. 295

[140] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Eng., Trans., Vol., I, p. 290

[141] Forster, *op. cit*., Vol., II, p. 9

G STONE WORK

As already stated, from antiquity, Kashmir had been very famous for highly advanced stone industry.[142] Mirza Haider, a 16th century invader and ruler was wonderstruck by the architectural stone marvel of Kashmir. According to him, 'the temples were made of sewn stone without cement and a paper could not pass through their joints'.[143] With the shift of power from Hindus to Muslims, change and preference in the material was also witnessed; now stone architecture was replaced by wooden one and it was the latter which was popularised and patronised by the Sultans, the immediate successors. Although, important to mention that the stone work was not altogether neglected, it continued along with the wood carving industry, however, the preference was given to wood, which resulted in loss of the artistic excellence, which the Kashmiris artists had during Hindu rule. [144]

The stone work art was fully revived by the Mughals in Kashmir. Nagar Nagar Fort and Pather Masjid is the true specimen of the Mughal stone art.[145] However, it did not resemble with the ancient form but according to the style in voyage in Agra, Delhi and Lahore. The only difference, says Ram Chandra Kak, was the use of 'local grey limestone for face work and white marble', owing to the difficulties of transport.[146] About the motive of constructing Nagar Nagar Fort, the historian Suka, states that the Emperor Akbar, on hearing the hardship, inflicted upon the citizens by the troops, who for want of accommodation had been quartered upon them, had a cantonment built on the slopes of the Hari Parbat hill, which from that time became a flourishing settlement.[147] Its gate ways, Kathi Darwaza and Sangin Darwaza are still extant but in ruined form. Kathi Darwaza seems to have been the principle entrance, says Ram Chandra Kak; because of the fact that 'the inscription have been put up only here. It is simple structure, comprising

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[142] The extant ruins of the Hindu temples scattered throughout bear an ample witness to the fact. See Ram Chandra Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp. 73-165

[143] Mirza Haider, *op.cit*, p. 426

[144] Jonaraja, *op.cit*, p. 89; Srivara, *op.cit*, pp. 121-122. Art of stone cutting and stone polishing has been praised by Mirza Haider; he in p. 425 says that the chiselled stones were used for the pavement of bazaars and streets.

[145] The loss of artistic excellence of the people can be gauged from the fact that Emperor Akbar had to import 'two hundred Indian master builders' in order to carry out his project.

[146] Ram Chandra Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, p. 87

[147] Suka, op.cit, p.

a doomed chamber in the middle with two side recesses. Its external decorations are rectangular and arched panel and two beautiful medallions, in high relief'. Another gateway-*Sangin Darwaza* (stone gate) is more expansive and ornate than *Kathi Darwaza.* 'Its exterior is decorated by two corbelled windows, and there are two stairs, one on each side, which give access to the roof.'[148]

Pather Masjid, "the stone Mosque" also called Shahi Masjid is said to have been built in A. D 1623 by Empress Nur Jahan and the construction was supervised by the well known historian architect of Kashmir Malik Haider Chadhura.[149] The construction of *Pather Masjid* was undertaken on the plinth of heavy stone boulders used as foundation going down a few feet deeper than the existing ground level. It was built in pure granite polished stone, with a length of 180 feet and breadth 54 feet. Its enclosures were executed in brick masonry, with a coat of lime plaster, adorned by a range of shallow arched niches. A porch is in the centre with four arched openings on either side to enter the hall meant for prayers. The construction of the arches may be credited to Empress Nur Jahan's personal interest.[150] The facade of the Mosque consisted of nine arches including a large arched portico in the centre. The arched openings were enclosed in shallow decorative cusped arches, which in turn were enclosed in rectangular frames. The interior was divided into three passages by two rows of arches composed of heavy and massive stones. The passage extended from one end to another. The roof of the compartment between them was being handsomely ribbed and vaulted.[151] The important feature of the Mosque was that it had *Hamam* (Turkish bath) and Madrasah built by Fazil Khan in 1697-98, but are not now traceable.[152]

Mullah Akhwand Shah Mosque was built in 1649 by Dara Shukoh for his preceptor Mulla Shah Badakhshi; it stands on the scarp of the Kohi Maran Hill; was built in polished granite stone. It is purely a masonry work in brick and lime and in finish and technique, it surpasses all the Mughal monuments in Kashmir.[153]

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[148] Cf. Ram Chandra Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, pp.88-89

[149] Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* Vol., I, f. 129b. See G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir,* Vol. II p 515

[150] S.L. Shall, *op. cit,* p. 278; See also Ram Chandra Kak, *op.cit,* p. 80

[151] Ram Chandra Kak, *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir,* pp.88-89

[152] *Waqiat-i-Kashmir,* p. 190

[153] Percy Broun, *Indian Architecture,* (Muslim Period), p. 88-89. Bamzai, *op.cit,* p. 601

One more place where the stone was used is the 'mosque at Hazratbal' which was originally built by Shahjahan. The walls were built in brick masonry on dressed stone plinth. The three-tiered wooden roof presents the traditional style of architecture of the province.[154]

H MINERALS

The contemporary evidence reveals the fact that during the Mughal period some efforts were made by the state to extract the earth's hidden natural resources. For example, Copper, was found near Aishmakam in the Liddar Valley, and *peat* was extracted from the low lying lands on the Jhelum River, and was used as a cheap fuel. Several strong sulphur springs were found in the valley, and limestone exists in many places, notably about Rampur, and on the Manasbal Lake. [155] There were also some places like Greater Tibet, Pakhli, Baltistan and Gilgit wherefrom gold was obtained.[156] Important to note that in Srinagar proper there was a fairly large class of Copper, silver and gold workers, who resided at a separate quarters selling their manufactured articles,[157] and as per Haider Mirza, they had extraordinary skills.[158] Iron was mainly obtained from Bring, Khriu and Shahabad mines.[159] Lahore also received some Iron of Kashmir.[160] As per Bamzai, 'the iron mines of Shari and Anantanag yielded metal enough for the manufacture of agricultural implements'. No agricultural community can go without implements which are needed for ploughing and digging soil and reaping harvest. Blacksmiths, therefore,

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[154] Percy Broun, *Indian Architecture,* p. 89

[155] *Thafatu1 Ahbab,* p. 601; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol., II, p. 175. Sir Francis Younghusband, *Kashmir,* p.111; Vigne, *Travels,* I, p. 325, Vol., II , p. 5; During the medieval times we have mention of a copper mine and the gold dust collected from the sandy banks of the rivers has been made by Zain-ul- Abidin. See Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir,* p.62; Mohibbul Hassan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, p.82-83

[156] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* vol., I, p.22; vol., II, p. 175; *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, p. 79; Ippolito Desideri, *op. cit.*, p. 78; William Moorcroft & G. Trebeck, *op.cit,* vol., I, p. 314. More than 2000 *tolas* of gold was collected in Tibet alone, however it was inferior and it did not fetch more than seven rupees for a *tola*.; *Amal-i-Saleh*, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, vol. II, p. 264. Lahori, *Badshahnama,* vol. I, part-II, pp. 287-88

[157] *Thafatu1 Ahbab,* p. 205

[158] Haider Mirza, *op.cit,* p. 434

[159] *Ain,* II, pp. 171-72; G.T. Vigne, *op. cit,* vol., I, pp. 324-25; Iron was mostly obtained from mines of *Shahabad*, and *Khrive.* Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir* p.63

[160] Cf. Abdul Majid Matoo, *op.cit,* 224

were engaged from a remote period in making different types of tools which were employed in agriculture. Copper and bronze, in addition to the black metal, engaged the attention of the metal workers.[161] There was a quarry of agate and onyx near the village of Khonamuh which supplied stones for the artistic manufacture of jewellery, stoneware, etc., for which Kashmir was famous. [162] Touchstone or Sangi-dalam was obtained from Bring and from a place near Verinag,[163]whereas Borax from a place near Lake Manasarowar,[164] Salt was obtained from mines of Koh-i-Jud *(*Salt Range).[165] It was the Emperor Jahangir says Vigne, who "granted these mines to the private individuals".[166] The methods of excavations were very crude and quietly a few accidents took place owing to the suffocation of falling of loose rock.[167]

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161 P. N. K. Bamzai, *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir,* Vol. II. p.499; Majid Husain, *Geography of Jammu and Kashmir,* p.29

162 *Ibid.,* p.499

163 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 171; Lawrence, *op. cit.,* p. 65.

164 Francisco Pelsaert, *op. cit.,* pp. 44-45

165 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., I, p. 525

166 G.T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, Iskardo,* p.337

167 Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir and Ladakh,* p.764

CHAPTER-8

THE COMMODITY STRUCTURE OF INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL TRADE

The first shawl which reached Europe was brought by Napolean at the time of his campaign in Egypt as a present to Empress Josephine.

Younghusband, ***Kashmir***

Like agriculture and industry, trade and commerce has always played a vital role for the development of a country. Though, the Vale is nestled high in the young folded high mountain ranges, its seclusion did not prevent its inhabitants to have commercial intercourse with the outside world. From time immemorial, despite the tremendous difficulties of communication and transport, Kashmir had commercial relations with distant parts of the world, like Persia and Rome.[1] Geographical proximity and overland connections of the valley were closely linked to Central Asia, which was facilitated by the Silk Route offshoots that criss-crossed Kashmir from different directions. It maintained its trade relations with India through the south and with Tibet, China, and Central Asia through the north and North-West. The traders went almost everywhere from Kashmir to Tehran and even Meshad.[2]

Even long before the establishment of Muslim rule in Kashmir, a large body of evidence suggests that merchants from Kashmir visited the important places like Prayag, Kashi, Ajodhya, and Brindaban for the purpose of trade and commerce and pilgrimage.[3] Also, under the Muslim rulers, remarks Haider Mirza, 'Kashmir established its trade

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[1] As early as 6th century B.C Kashmiri wood was carried to Persia. Y. B. Singh, *Commercial Activity in Ancient Kashmir*, Proceedings, Punjab History Conference, 1976, p. 38; For details see Suman Jamwal, *Commercial Contacts between Kashmir and Rome*, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Vol. 75, No. 1/4 (1994), pp. 201-08

[2] R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir 1320-1819*, Peoples Publishing House, Delhi, 1969, p. 419; See also, Showkat Ahmad Dar, *Dynamics of Trade and Commerce, Regional relations and the State Policies of Mughals in Kashmir,* Sarita Rana, (ed.), K. G. Graphics, Amritsar, 2013, pp. 94-107.

[3] *Ibid*, pp. 419-20

relations with Samarkand, Kashgar, Bukhara, Khurasan and Yarkand'.[4] Similarly, with the occupation of Kashmir by the Mughals in A.D 1586, it not only created favourable conditions for trade and commerce with Central Asia but it also gave impetus to trade with India. The trade was a source of considerable revenue to the state and provided employment to a large number of people. By analysing the trade both internal and external during the Mughal period, Kashmir's commercial organisation can be ascertained.

INTERNAL TRADE AND MODE OF TRANSPORT:

Internal trade can be defined as the sum total of activities which bring into contact the producer and consumer within the country. It involves distribution of goods and services from the point of production to the point of consumption within the boundaries of the country.[5] The peace and tranquillity in the *subah* of Kashmir under the Mughal rule and the state administration served to boost the internal trade to an appreciable extent during the Mughal period.[6]

Viewed from the functional point of view large number of commercial centres emerged in Kashmir during the Mughal period. Important centre of trade and commerce that continued from the ancient period was Srinagar. It was the capital city and one of the important urban centres. As per *Rajatarangini*, there were regularly arranged markets *(hattas*) in the city of Pavarapura (Srinagar) and some members of the royal family founded new markets at their places.[7] Similarly, author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, refers to the markets and the streets of Srinagar which were all paved with hewn stones. Only drapers and retail dealers were to be found. But the other tradesmen like the grocers, druggists, beer sellers (*fukai)* bakers did business in their own houses; the earthenware, bronze and copper utensils sellers also do the same. Same was the case with shawl and silk

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4 Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, Eng. Trans. from Persian, N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, *"A History of Mughals of Central Asia"*, Renaissance Publishing House, Delhi, reprinted 1986, pp. 332-334.

5 *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, vol. XIV, p. 51.

6 Abdul Majid Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, 1586-1752, Golden Horde Enterprises, Kashmir, 1988, p.223.

7 Kalhana, Rajatarangini, Eng. Trans., M. A. Stein, V, 168

merchants. [8] But the condition seems to be improved during the period under study as according to Bernier, who visited Kashmir with the royal cavalcade of Emperor Aurangzeb in A. D 1665, remarked that the trade in Srinagar was brisk and the streets were linked with long rows of shops offering various commodities for sale.[9] Besides, the regular shops, the petty dealers and shopkeepers also carried on their business in movable stalls. George Foster, who visited Kashmir in A.D 1783, refers the flourishing trade and commerce in Kashmir.[10]

The other important centres of trade and commerce were the *Qasbas* Verinag, Bijbarah, Shahabad (Durah), Pampore, Shupion, Chrar, Patan, Sopore, Baramullah and Qasba Bandipur.[11] Every town had its own speciality of producing goods, which had a great bearing on internal trade. For example, Srinagar was known for the woollen stuffs; Pampore for the produce of Saffron and ghee; Shahabad for wheat cultivation; Huripur for Turnips; Nipur for rice; Nandipora for Mutton; Jehama for hemp; kothihar for silk; and the town of Sopore for the quality of Pattu and Fruits.[12] The trade within was quite significant and almost all the parganas were interdependent from one another. The areas specialised in one commodity naturally had to depend on other in terms of their need. In addition to the locally produced agricultural products and manufactures, the imported commodities were also the items for internal trade.[13]

The most important feature of internal trade in Kashmir was the practice of barter system, as according to Abul Fazl, the payments were estimated in terms of paddy.[14]

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[8] Mirza Haider Daughlat, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, p. 425; Abul-Fazl refers that "the bazaar system is little in use, as a brisk traffic is carried on at their own places of business. *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol. II, (Eng. Trans.), H. S. Jarrett, p.353.

[9] Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, A.D. 1656-1668*, Eng. trans. Archibald Constable, London: W. Pickering, 1826; Reprint, New Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1992, p. 351.

[10] George Foster, *A Journey From Bengal to England, through Northern Parts of India,* London, 2002, Vol., II, pp. 22-24.

[11] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng., Trans., p. 173; Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p 294-95; See for details Pir Hasan Kohimi, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, p258

[12] G. T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardoo*, Vol., I, p. 324. For details Pir Hasan Kohami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, p. 258; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol., II, pp. 169-70

[13] W.H. Hunter, *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* , Vol., IV, London, 1881, p. 569

[14] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, Eng., Trans., H. S. Jarrett, p. 366

There can be a little doubt that the bulk of the marketable products were absorbed by the local demand. *Qasbas* and townships acted as a major market place for the internal trade. Food grains like paddy was mostly the major items of internal trade, as it was produced merely for the purpose of subsistence rather than for market.[15] Public transition was made in paddy and the wealth of the individual was also determined by the quantity of the paddy he produced.[16]

The internal trade was conducted both by the state and by the private traders, and in case of trade in grains, it was mostly carried by the state however rich merchants or grain dealers known as ghalladars were also permitted to deal in grains.[17] They were active in the towns, cities as well as in villages.[18] The state annually collected a large number of Kharwar of grain in form of land revenue. [19] It was stored in state granaries and was sold to the people on controlled rates.[20] To check the black marketing, control over the prices of commodities was regulated by the state. However, it seems that the market control did not materially hinder the growth of trade as according to Emperor Jahangir, the Kashmiri merchants in medieval times were quite prosperous.[21]

The internal trade was conducted mainly by land via land routes and rivers (Jhelum and its tributaries) which in fact offered the cheapest means of transport.[22] Major towns were interconnected and they functioned both as a centre for local products and also a base for trade with Central Asia. Except for a few roads which connected the principal towns, the condition of the roads was very poor. [23] Roads were narrow and two

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15 *Intizamami Mulk-i-Kashmir*, ff. 3ab

16 G. T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh and Iskardoo*, Vol. I, p. 308

17 *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, ff. 300a-5b;

18 Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, Katib Ghar, Srinagar, 1996, p.397

19 Kharwar constituted sixteen traks (trak was of six seers). Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari,* Vol., II, Eng., trans., H. S. Jarrett, p.366

20 *Gulshan-i-Dastur*, ff. 300-04

21 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng. Trans., Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, Vol., II, p. 147

22 Irfan Habib, *Agrarian system of Mughal India*, p.70; Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, pp. 7-8

23 A. K. Muhammad Farooque, *Roads and Communication in Mughal India,* Delhi, 1977, pp. 35-40

ponies could at best go abreast.[24] Vehicular traffic was almost unknown and the waterways were the chief arteries of internal trade. The places which were not connected with water, commodities were carried by men and beast of burden along the narrow foot paths. [25] An ordinary trader known as *banjara* too, carried loads upon their shoulders and roamed village to village.[26]

Kashmir enclosed by huge mountains presented unusual difficulties in the matter of communication. The water transport was the pivot upon which all the internal commerce moved.[27] The Jhelum River was an important water high-way navigable from Anantnag to Baramulla. Apart from being a source of irrigation, it provided the important means of transport for carrying human and goods traffic.[28] The numerous canals were linked with it and the people settled along its banks, which were linked with each other with the help of ten main bridges, of which four were situated in the midst of Srinagar. [29] In the mountainous regions of the country, rope bridges were used for foot traffic. Emperor Jahangir describes the construction of a rope bridge during an expedition against the Raja of Kishtawar. [30]

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24 P. N. K. Bamzai, *The Cultural and Political History of India*, 2 vols.,Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2003, p. 509

25 Ponies, mules, camels and donkey were used to carry goods. Pack-ponies were used for carrying paddy and other food grains from distant villages to the town markets. Bates, *Gazetteer of Kashmir*, pp. 7-8; For more details see Lawrence, op. cit, p. 246-248 According to Jahangir, before the reign of the Akbar, the chief method by which the people carried their trade was on ponies, and it was Akbar who introduced horses. “The merchants and artificers of this country are mostly Sunnis” *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., Trans., Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, Vol. II, p.148. Bernier, *op.cit*, p. 392

26 Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Eng., Trans., Vol., I, H. S. Jarrett, p.68; Word Banjara seems cognate with Vanik banik means merchant. They were the most frequently travelled tribe in medieval India. See H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms of British India*, London, 1855

27 Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Eng., Trans., Vol., II, p. 354

28 Techno-Economic Survey of J&K State, NCAER, p. 108

29 *Amal-i-Salih*, Vol., II, p. 31; According to Jahangir he saw four very solid bridges built by stone and wood. About the construction of wooden bridges Jahangir comments- the way in which they made bridges in this country in to through pine tree on the surface of the water, and fasten the two ends strongly to rocks, and having thrown on to these, thick planks of wood make them firm with pegs and ropes, and these, with a little repair last for years. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 142, 127-28

30 *Ibid*

The means of transport used for the internal trade were comparatively better. Goods and merchandise were mostly transported by boats, whose number according to Abul Fazl, was 30, 000.[31] However, according to Jahangir, there "were 5,700 with 7,400 boatmen in the city and the *parganas*".[32] They carried commercial goods and the passengers from one end of the country to another. Guards were stationed on each bank; they looked after the herdsmen and the weak.[33] 'Different kinds of boats were built in Kashmir', remarks Hasan, which were used for swift sailing and carriage.[34] When Emperor Akbar visited Kashmir, he was not happy on seeing the Kashmiri boats, thus, he ordered to introduce boats on the model of Bengal and Gujrat.[35]

EXTERNAL TRADE, TRADE ROUTES AND MODE OF TRANSPORT

In an analysis of the commercial contacts between the valley of Kashmir and the rest of the world, it is apt to begin with taking into consideration the trade routes which connected Kashmir with the other parts of the world. For better understanding of the commercial relations of Kashmir with Central Asian Countries, it is necessary to discuss the important trade, commodity structure, and means of transport, major import and exports, as well as the state's attitude towards the mercantile communities. Kashmir succeeded in developing its trade based economy, to some extent, because of its geological location which provided it an access to different trade routes. The details of these principle routes through which trade and commerce was carried during the period under study can be gleaned from stray references found here and there in the accounts of both foreign and native litterateurs of Kashmir.

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31 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng., trans., Vol., III, p. 835

32 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., Trans., Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, Vol., II, pp.142-143; Muta'mid Khan, *Iqbal Nama-i-Jahangiri*, Urdu Trans., p. 139

33 Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng., trans., Vol., III, pp. 835-36

34 Some of the important types were Lari Nav, Prinda, Donga, Shikhara, Choti Shakari, Barchi, Khachoo, Kama Nav, Demb Nav, and Bandook Shakari Pir Ghulam Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, I, ff. 141 a-b, Urdu Trans., Sharif Husain Qasimi, Vol., I, p. 458; Even wood cut in the forests was sent down by means of rivers. Kashmiri wood was carried in the markets in Punjab by Chenab and Jhelum. Manucci, *op.cit*, Vol., I, P. 162; *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 122; *Akbar Nama*, Vol., I, p.

35 *Ibid*, pp. 458-462. See also Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., III, p. 550. The cargo boats were known as bahts and the light boats known as Shikaras. Decorated boats were meant for royalty whereas Shikaras for the commoners.

TRADE ROUTES LINKING KASHMIR WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD AND SURROUNDING TERRITORIES

There was hardly any good road leading to the Valley of Kashmir. Haji Mohammad Jan Qudasi, a reputed poet scholar who came to Kashmir during the reign of Emperor Shah Jahan, says about the difficulty of access to the Valley in these words:[36]

> *The path of poverty is evident from the road leading to Kashmir,*
> *It very first step means the renunciation of the world,*
> *How can one pass this path with ease?*
> *For the very first condition means relinquishing life*
> *How can a traveller escape this calamity?*
> *Except that a slip of the foot may become a cause of his rescue.*

Generally people did not go round the world for the purpose of travel merely when means and facilities were limited. Even in the civilization's early days, however, travel was a pre-requisite of trade.[37] Broadly speaking, the traders of Kashmir mostly followed the following routes.

1. Kashmir-Lahore Route via Pir Panjal[38]

The earliest reference to this route comes from Kshemendra's *Sumayamatrika*. He refers to this route as *Lavanasarani* i.e. Namak road.[39] It has remained chief route until the recent times through which the Punjab salt mines entered Kashmir. With the conquest of Kashmir by the Mughals, this route gained much importance because of being closer to their seat of Empire - Agra or Lahore. It was quite difficult to tread and at places perilous for the imperial cavalcade. Thus, in A.D 1587, on the eve of the first visit of Emperor Akbar to Kashmir, Mohammad Qasim Khan, the governor, was directed to

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36 Pir Ghulam Hasan Kuihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Vol., IV, p. 11

37 A.K Farooque, Roads and Communication of Mughal India, New Delhi, 2009, pp. 1-2

38 There is a controversy about the origin of' the word "Pir Panjal". In fact Pir Panjal are two separate words in which Pir means an "old man" or "saint" or "Faqir". There is a grave of a saint on the top of this mountain. Panjal which has been identified by Stein as of Pancala, for the modern word he used Fantsal instead of Panjal. It could have been applied either to the whole of the great southern chain of mountain or its central portion about the Pir Panjal Pass. The pass *is* at the altitude of 11,400 feet above sea level. For details see Bates, op.cit, pp. 12-15

39 Kshemendra, *Sumayamatrika*, ed., Durga Prasad, N.S.P., Bombay, 1925, pp. 23-34.

widen this route and make it fit for the travelling of ponies, elephant and the mules;[40] also lot of improvements were made during the governorship of Ali Mardan Khan.[41] According to Abul Fazl, “three thousand stone-cutters, mountain-miners and splinters of rocks and two thousand *beldars* [diggers] were sent to level the road”,[42] whereas as per the information of *Iqbalnama*, more than 10000 labourers and masons worked day and night on this road for months together before the visit of Emperor Akbar. Moreover, in A.D 1620, Emperor Jahangir while going to Kashmir halted at Naushahra, ordered Raja Taj-ud-din to take responsibility for repair of the road from Naushahra to Kashmir, and to establish a number of *chaukies* to safeguard the route. Consequently, a number of *chaukies* were set up on the Mughal route to Kashmir. Mirza Inayatullah, the grandson of Raja Taj-ud-din looked after Naushahra fort under his command.[43]

This route was difficult and remained open for seven months i.e. from May to November. The route has been referred by Charles Bates as “the old imperial road”[44] and it seems that it was the favourite route of the Mughal emperors, especially Emperor Jahangir, who spent many summers in the valley. The route seems to have been popular with the caravan traders too. All along this route, many *Sarais* were constructed during the Mughal period.

The author of *AkbarNama* and *Ain-i-Akbari* provides plenty of useful information about the geography of this route. According to him, there were three variants of this route (a) Hasti-Bhanj or the Hasti water route. The route passed through Bhimber and Rajouri and crossing the Pir Panjal pass entered the valley of Kashmir at the affluent

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40 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p.169; See also, Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p.316

41 Khuihami, Pir Hasan Shah,, *Tarikh-i- Hasan*, Urdu trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, “*Tarikh-i-Hasan”*, City Book Centre, Srinagar, 2003, p. 247; see also Khwaja Muhammad Azam Diddamari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, J&K Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001, pp. 527-28 .

42 Abul Fazl, Akbar Nama, Vol., III, Eng., trans., p. 817

43 Zafarullah Khan Jaral, *Tazkira-i-Besissal-Rajgan-i-Rajour*, Urdu, Jallandhar, 1907, p. 80

44 C.E. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, Light and Life Publishers, New Delhi, 1980, pp. 352-373

town of Shopian.[45] (b). Pir-Panjal route, which according to Abul Fazl, was commissioned by Akbar; his Majesty traversed thrice while visiting Kashmir. This route diverted near Rajouri and ran along the river Punch upto proper Punch and crossed the Haji Darah to Join the Muree road near Uri. About the difficulties of this pass, Abul Fazl describes it in these words, "shall I describe the severity of the cold? Or shall I tell of the depth of the snow, and of the bewilderment of the nature of India? Or shall I describe the height and hallows of this stage."[46](c). Tangtal pass, about five miles on the north of Pir Panjal Pass, the name however is no longer known. This third pass parted from Samni *sarai* and passed through Kotli and Punch to join with the second route.[47]

The Various important paravas (halting stations) of this route from Srinagar were Khampur, Shopian, Hurapura (Surapura), Dabijan, Aliabad, Poshiana, Behramgala (*Bhairavagala*), Thana, Rajouri, Chingus, Noushahra, Saidabad, Bhimber, Kotla and then Gujrat.[48]All these places developed as centres of socio-economic interaction and the major centres of human activities. From Gujrat, it goes Sudhara[49], Talwandi, Sitaram, Aminabad, Shahadara and then Lahore. [50]

The description of the route given by Emperor Jahangir in his *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri*, make it clear that it became an imperial highway with lot of facilities at least for the King and his harem. However, this route played quite important role in boosting up Kashmir's trade with North-Western regions of India.

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45 Abul Fazl, mentions about this route in the following words "As several roads led from this place and each was full of snow, experienced men were sent off to make enquiries and a council was held. It appeared that the best route for a large army was by the defile of the Hasti water". Ain, III, p. 824; See also Gazetteer of Kashmir, p. 342-45; Aliabad Sariai- a Mughal hospice is situated about half a mile above Hastivanj. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1895, pp. 378n; Stein, *Rajatarangini*, Vol., II, p. 398

46 *Ain*, III, p. 823

47 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Eng. Trans., H. S. Jarrett, Vol. II, p.351-352; See also G. T. Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir, Ladakh, and Iskardoo*, Vol., I, pp. 146-150

48 Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Urdu trans., Sharif Husain, pp.246- 247For details see Ain, p. 819; Badsha Nama, p. 17.; Field work June, 2014

49 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., III, p. 818. It is Sadhra of modern maps.

50 Manucci, an Italian traveller called Lahore the 'key to Kashmir'. N. Manucci, *Stolia Do Mogar*, Eng., trans., William Irvine, Vol., 2, Delhi Oriental Books, p. 174

2. Kashmir- Kabul Route via Pakhli (Jhelum George)

This was the most direct route between Kashmir and Kabul after crossing Indus at Ohind (Hund) or Attock. This route connects the valley of Kashmir with Hazara, Pakhli and Rawalpindi and thence to Peshawar. There are quite dangerous, though not very high passes, on this route. Of all the passes Kuarmast (Kuwarmat) was the most difficult on this route. According to Jahangir, Kuwarmat "is the last of the *kotals* on the road."[51] The other important passes on this route were Bulias or Bhulbus and Pin daraug.[52] This route has exercised immense influence on the political and cultural history of Kashmir. The route has been used since the ancient times; Huen Stang and Au-Kang entered the valley by this route.[53] It was well known to Alberuni, who described this route as "best known entrance to Kashmir".[54] It was through this route that the founder of the Sultanate, Shah Mir and Sayid Ali Hamdani, the man who is responsible for the mass conversion, fallowed this route. The first unsuccessful Mughal invasion to Kashmir was led by Raja Bhagwan Das through this route.[55] Abul Fazl has described it in considerable details in connection with the return trip of Akbar from Kashmir to Lahore by the Pakhil route.[56]

There are references of the repair work done on this road by the Mughals. According to the author of *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, this road was repaired by the Mughal Emperors and it is because of their benedictions that it became effortlessly traversable and remained opened throughout the year. The fully loaded Horses travelled without any difficulty.[57] Abul Fazl mentions that, "Hashim Khan, son of Qasim Khan, was sent off to set right the Pakhil road, as His Majesty intended to return by that way. Many stone

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51 Jahangir, *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri*, II, p. 133

52 *Ibid*, pp. 131-133. According to Abul Fazl "this road was almost unparallel for difficulty, narrowness and height and hallow." *Ain,* III, p. 850

53 See for details Stein, *Notes on Au-Kangs Account of Kashmir*, p.22

54 Alberuni, *India*, Vol., I, Eng., trans., p. 206

55 Abul-Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng., trans., Vol. III, p. 723. See also *Tuzuk-i-Jahangir,* p. 293

56 *Ibid*, p. 839; Fredrik Augustus, *The Emperor Akbar,* Vol. II, p.723; Realising the Importance of this route the British government of India took measures to convert it into a motorable road between Srinagar and Rawalpindi. See Marison, A Lonely Summer in Kashmir, pp. 267-268

57 Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Urdu trans., Sharif Husain, p. 243

breakers and diggers accompanied him."[58] Emperor Shah Jahan, during his visit to the valley of Kashmir in 1640 sent Raja Jagat Singh to repair this route.[59] Emperor Aurangzeb in his long reign of nearly fifty years visited only once in 1663 the Valley of Kashmir. Like Shah Jahan he also took this route.[60] The Various important stations of this route from Srinagar were Pattan, Baramullah, Ganal, Shardha, Khatai, Khanda, Haittan, Muzaffrabad, Gari, Mansar, Abbotabad, Margale, Doonga gali, Kohi Mari and Rawalpindi.[61]

During the period under study, this route was used for trade and commerce, especially in light goods, because of the extremely confined nature of the Jhelum gorge and the rugged terrain. There are various references to prove the fact. Emperor Jahangir refers to a large number of merchants, living at northern gate of Kashmir[62] and the Kotal was known as Pimdarang (cotton delay) signifying the fact that the route was being used to carry cotton.[63]

3. Kashmir- Maryul (Ladakh)-Badakhshan Route:-

The contemporary literature is full of references to prove that Kashmir had trade links with the Muryal. The author of *Tarikh Rashidi* used the name Maryul, specifically to the region of the Indus Valley and Ladakh Ranges.[64] However, Abul Fazl referred to Muryal or Ladakh as *Tibbat-i-Buzurg* or great Tibet. The North-Eastern ranges of hilly tract

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58 *Ain*, III, p. 835

59 Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, II, p. 182-83

60 Mohammad Kazim, *AlamgirNama*, Calcutta, 1867, p. 820.

61 Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Urdu trans., Sharif Husain, p. 244

62 Abul Fazl remarks about Baramulla as "on one side there are sky touching hills, and on the other the Bihat tumultuously rushes towards India. Between the two there is a narrow path. Since a long time, the rulers have made a gate there and the guards admit no one without passport." Ain-i-Akbari, III, p.847

63 Jahangir made mention of the Kotal as "on this road there is a Kotal of great height, the ascent being 1 kos, and the descent 1.I/2 kos, which they call Pimdarang. The reason for this name is that in the language they call cotton (pambal) pim. As the rulers of Kashmir had placed a superintendent there who took duties from loads of cotton, and delay takes place here for the collection of the duty it has become known as the Pimdarang. *Tazuk-i-Jahangiri,* II, p. 127

64 The circuitous description of the Kashmir- Badakhshan route given by Mirza Haider Daughlat indicates that it was nearly impossible to travel Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* p. 465.

separated the valley ethically and culturally from the regions of Ladakh, Baluchistan and Dardistan. This can be crossed by after crossing the Zojila and the Burzal Pass. Zojila and Burzal Pass were the two important passes that lie in this range. The Burzal pass (10,740 ft.) connects Kashmir valley with Dardistan or the territories of Astore, Chilas, Bundi, Gilgit, Chitral, Yasin, Punial and Darel. It is in this region that the territories of three great states i.e. Russia, China and Afghanistan meet, which are collectively known as Dardistan.[65]

The Zojila pass (11,300 ft.) links Kashmir with Ladakh, Baltistan and Tibet, and the Central Asian regions of Badakshan, Samarqand, Khotan, Bukhara, Kashgar etc.[66] The route commonly used by the travellers going from Maryul to Badakhshan was through Kashghar. From Kashgar, the merchant caravans proceeded to Samarqand and Bukhara. But in 1639, the route was closed by the king of Ladakh after Emperor Shah Jahan attacked his kingdom in order to help the chief of Iskardo. Then, for some time the merchants took the route of Baltistan. However, the situation was restored on account of the peace made with the king of Tibet. [67]

All these places were great centres of trade and commerce. Even Bokhara and Samarqand were known as great money markets where the trading caravans from various parts of the world invariably visited and sold their products.[68] This route was important as Dulcha, Rinchana and Mirza Haider Dughlat entered Kashmir via Zojila pass.[69] During the rule of Emperor Shah Jahan and Emperor Aurangzeb, the same route was fallowed while invading Little and Greater Tibet.[70]

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65 Passing through Bandipora, Sopore and Gurez this route connects the valley with Dardistan. The Chinese traveller Fahein, Chemong, Fa-yong, are said to have fallowed this route. For details see R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir* 1320-1819, p. 44.

66 Foster, *Early Travels,* pp. 169-70; Mohibul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 22-23; R. K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir* 1320-1819, p. 44.

67 F. Bernier, *Travels,* pp. 425-6.

68 For details see A. Vambery, *History of Bokhara,* pp. XXV-VI, 2-34

69 Jonaraja, *Rajatarangini,* Eng., trans. Stein, p.42; *Tarikh-i- Rashidi,* Eng., Trans., Vol. I, p. 423

70 Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* II, p. 286; For details of this route see Abdul Majid Matoo, op.cit, p. 211-212

4. Kashmir- Punch Route via Tosamaidan Pass and Haji Pir Pass

It was the shortest and the most frequented route leading into the valley of Punch and hence to that portion of the western Punjab. It was both politically and strategically important. Mohammad of Ghazni (in A.D 1015 and 1021) and Maharaja Ranjit Singh in A.D 1814, attempted to penetrate Kashmir through this pass but were unsuccessful. Because of its high elevation, it remained closed from the second half of December and was not possible upto the fifteenth of May.[71] The Various important stations of this route from Srinagar via Tosmaidan route were Lal pora Tosmaidan pass, Loharin Mandi thence Punch.[72] It also connected Punch to Saipra, Kotli, Sansar, Beyari, Mir Pur, Chechan, Jhelam.[73]

This was another recognised route connecting the valley of Kashmir with Punch. In this route one has to pass Haji Pir pass, which is 8500 feet high. Though covered with snow, it still could be traversed. Emperor Jahangir once wished to use the Punch route but abandoned the plan because of the continuous snowfall.[74] According to Frederick Drew, this route was impracticable for laden ponies.[75] The Various important stations of this route from Srinagar via Jhelum were Pattan, Baramullah, Uri, Hyderabad, Aliabad, Kahuta and then Punch.[76] The Punch was also connected to Jammu and the important stations were Surun, Thana, Rajouri, Sayal Suri, Dharamsala, Thanda Pani, Chooki Choor, Akhnoor, thence Jammu. [77]

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71 F.D. Bourbel, Routes in Jammu and Kashmir, p. 35; G.T Vigne, op. cit., p. 148

72 Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Urdu trans., Sharif Husain, p. 246; See for details Statistical Atlas of the Jammu and Kashmir state, first edition, Calcutta,1927

73 *Ibid*, 259

74 Emperor Jahangir usually entered Kashmir via through Pir Panjal Pass, but once he wished to use the Punch road sent Nuru-din Quli a prominent mansabdar having rank 3000 zat and 600 sewar to repair the road…..as far as possible the ups and down of the Punch routes and to repair it so that the passage of the laden beasts over the difficult hill tops might be accomplished with ease, and that the men should not undergo labour and hardship. A large number of artificers, such as stone cutters, carpenters, spades men etc were dispatched with him to whom an elephant was also given. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans, 1968, p. 98

75 F. Drew, Territories of Jammu and Kashmir, pp. 205-207

76 Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Urdu trans., Sharif Husain, p. 247

77 *Ibid, p. 246-7* Due to the trade through these routes the hilly principalities like Rajauri

5. Kashmir- Kishtawar via Marbal Pass and Dasu

The region of Kishtawar can be called as the "protected abode" for the rulers of Kashmir. It not only provided shelter to the fugitive rulers of the Kashmir during the times of foreign invasions but also provided active support to them from time to time. The territory of Kishtawar, lays on the southeast of the Kashmir Valley. It was a tributary state of pre-Mughal rulers, prior to its subjugation during the times of Emperor Jahangir (1619-20). Even after defeating and capturing the Raja Gunwar of Kishtawar in 1622, it was not included in the Valley of Kashmir.[78] However, the territory of Kishtawar became a suzerain state of Mughals. Situated in the interiors of the Himalayas, it could be reached from Anantnag to Pargana Brang via Marbal pass through village Singpora and also following another route from Anantnag via Dasu, a village four miles above Nowbagh or at the foot of the western slope of Chingam (Sinthan) pass.[79]

Under the Great Mughals, the road building process and the other activities were well planned and were supervised by the Public Work Department, headed by *Diwan-i-Bayutat*.[80] Those involved in the process of making roads did their best, but the odds were heavily against them. Kashmir, being a famous summer resort of the Mughal Emperors, had many roads but they were all difficult to travel. Both Bernier and Tavernier talk about transport in the hilly areas which involved special problems.[81]

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and Poonch developed. The Mughals construct the *serais* and the forts all along this route which still existed though in ruined form. The purpose of such *serais* was to provide shelter to caravans.

78 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., trans., II, pp. 135-140

79 Pir Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, Urdu trans., Sharif Husain, p. 263; See also Bates, Gazetteer, pp. 312-13, 343-44

80 A. K. M. Farooque, *Roads and Communication in Mughal India*, pp. 35-40

81 Bernier who accompanied Emperor Aurangzeb on his journey to Kashmir came across an incident which marred his enjoyment of the journey. He writes that the king was ascending the Pir Panjal Mountains from which a distance view of the kingdom of Kashmir is first obtained. He was followed by a long line of elephants, upon which sat the ladies of the herm. The foremost appalled, as is supposed, by the great length and activity of the path before him steeped back upon the elephant. That was the third against the fourth and so on until fifteen of them. He further says elephants incapable of turning round or extricating themselves in a road so steep and narrow fell down. Happily for the women the place where they fell down was no great height, only three or four were killed but they were means of saving any of the elephants. Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire* 1658-68, Eng., Trans., Archibald Constable, London, 1891, pp. 407-08

Throughout its history, remarks Kalhana, the merchants of Kashmir used load carriers and pack pony but it was human back, a more important and useful than the pony for the carriage of supplies from one place to another.[82] This has also been substantiated by Francis Younghusband who puts it as “the means and communication were rough and rude in the extreme, so that men instead of animals had to be used as beasts of burden”.[83] Also, according to Father Pierre Du Jarric, “rough paths were often so narrow that there was room for only a single horseman. They were obliged, therefore, to travel very slowly and stop frequently. Moreover, the elephants, which carried goods, had great difficulty in climbing the mountains. Sometimes, feeling insecure on its feet, owing to the load which it carried, it supported itself with trunk, making it serve the purpose of stuff.”[84]

As Tavernier noted, travel conditions under the Mughals were not less comfortable than in France or Italy in his days.[85] Similarly, the mountain passes through which Kashmir was connected and the trade was carried on with outside world were well protected. It was necessary, as strategically Kashmir formed the first line of defence of Akbar's empire. There defence heeded full control over all the routes of access to the empire. All types of merchandise, carried to and fro, were adequately guarded against all possible dangers as life and property of the merchants was not safe unless a large caravan travelling together. For ensuring smooth passage of the caravans, watch stations were established all along these routes.[86]

During the period under study, these watch stations were kept under the vigilance of Nayaks.[87] The landed aristocratic families of Batu/ Shahabad generally performed the

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82 *Rajatarangini,* V, p. 174; Foster, *Early Travels in India,* Oxford, 1921, pp. 169-70

83 Francis Younghusband, *Kashmir,* p. 177

84 Father Pierre Du Jarric, Akbar and the Jesuits, p. 79

85 J.B. Tavernier, Tavernier’s Travels in India (1640-67), trans., John Phillips, I, London, 1677, p. 104

86 These watch stations were known as *dvara* or *dranga* in the ancient times. Kalhana *Rajatarangini*, I, 122, iv, 404, v, 137. During the medieval times they were called darah or kartal or kutal. Abul Fazl, *op.cit,* p. 412.

87 Those controllers were known as dvarapati or dvaradipa in the ancient times. Kalhana *Rajatarangini*, v, 214 Suka and Abul Fazl called them as margesa and Malik respectively. Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Eng., trans., Vol., III, p. 764; Also see Hugel, Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab, Vol., II, p. 165

job of keeping vigil on the passes that fell within their *parganas*. Their authority stretched over the whole Pargana Batu to which Shahabad was only a part. Mention may be made of two zamindars for instance Mehdi Nayik and Husain Nayik, who guarded and regulated the whole traffic on the Mughal route via important villages of Poshiana, Hirapur, Behramgala.[88] Without their cooperation, it was difficult to reach the markets. They did not allow anybody to pass outside the watch station without examining the permit called *Khatt-i-Rahdari*. Besides this, they also collected custom duties and *rasums*.[89] Thus, all kinds of merchandise were subjected to duty,[90] though the duty on the food grains might have been exempted in times of scarcity.[91] The controllers of these passes, remarks Hugel, were in the habit of harassing the merchants by compelling them to pay more than what was their due.[92] However, a series of orders were issued by Emperor Akbar and his successors from time to time to declare all such imposts – indiscriminately termed *baj* and *tamgah*, abolished either entirely or with some exception. It is possible that such prohibitions did result in the elimination of a number of tolls and taxes.[93]

Also, a number of sarais, inns and rest houses sprang up along the trade routes, which provided necessary facilities to the trade caravans. The main sarais were built at *Thana*, Noushahra, Chingas, Bahramgalla, Rajouri, Poshiana, Alliaba, Shajimarg, Hirapora and Khanpora.[94] They, over a period of time developed into busy trade centres, for e.g. Sarai at Thana, became a salt *mandi*, where from Kashmiri merchants mainly purchased.[95]

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[88] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, H.S Jarett, vol., II, pp. 366-67. G.T Vigne, *Travels in Kashmir Ladakh and Iskardo*, vol., I, 1842, p. 77

[89] For details see Nizam-ud-din Wani, *Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 222

[90] All the goods imported and exported were taxed to the tune of one lakh rupees payable at Ganderbal. *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 6-7

[91] Khafi Khan, op.cit, II, p. 88

[92] Baron Charles Hugel, *op.cit*, Vol., II, p. 171

[93] Cf. Irfan Habib, *Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p.72; Baj- toll levied by the road petrol and Tamgaha a stamp tax generally for imports.

[94] Lahori, *Badshahnama*, Vol., I, part II, pp .16-20

[95] Mohammad Murad, *Tuhfat-ul-Fuqara*, f. 43b

Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence in terms of statistics available on the extent and volume of the inter-regional or the foreign trade and commerce during the period under study. Only some idea of the magnitude of the trade can be obtained from individual items transported and the infrastructure available in terms of trade routes and sarais. The trade relations of the Kashmir with the other parts of the world in general and Central Asia in particular can be better understood in terms of imports and exports transported between these regions.

IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

The chief articles of trade between Kashmir and rest of the world remained to a great extent unchanged for centuries. In view of the information available, it would not be out of place, to list such commodities. The main commodities imported were Salt, [96] Shawl-wool, cotton cloth,[97] silkworm eggs, paper, cotton, yarn, turmeric, ginger, sugar, cloves, jade and mace.[98]

The most important imported article was Salt. The author of *Rajatarangini* maintains that salt was not available in the valley and was acquired mainly from Punjab and Ladakh.[99] Besides Punjab and Ladakh it was also imported from Sunderbans in Bengal.[100] The Pir Panjal route was the main way by which salt from Punjab was brought to Kashmir[101] and during the times of internal crisis or foreign invasions, the inhabitants had to face the shortage of this essential commodity.[102] Being unavailable inside, it was a very expensive article, as its importance can be judged from the fact that peasantry and the husbandmen were given wages in terms of salt.[103]

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96 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., Trans., Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, Vol., II, pp.147-46

97 Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 415; Palsaert, *Remonstrantie*, Eng., Trans. Moreland Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 35-36

98 Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 393-95. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 300. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 174; Bernier, *Letters*, p. 426

99 Kalhana, Rajatarangini, VII, 1221; C. E. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir*, pp.72-77

100 Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir Under the Sultans*, p. 245; R.K. Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, pp. 422-23

101 For details see foot note no 42

102 Srivara, *op.cit*, p. 327

103 For details see Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., I, Eng., Trans., Blochmann, pp. 89-90; Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., Trans., Alexander Rogers and Henry Beveridge, Vol., II, pp.147-46

Another important requirement was the wool (*pashm* or *poost*) used in manufacturing the world famous Shawl.[104] It was imported from Western and Central Tibet and beyond from Kashgar and Turkistan.[105] Especially throughout the medieval times, Ladakh regularly supplied Pashm to Kashmir.[106] But, on account of the Tibetan attack on Ladakh in 1682-83, the supply of the wool was jeopardized. The Mughals intervened on behalf of Ladakh; freed a retreat on the Qalmaq rulers of Tibet.[107] A treaty was signed known as Tingmosgang, and the *pashm* was agreed to be supplied regularly to Kashmir.[108]

The total Pashm wool imported during the time of the Mughals was 6000 *maunds* or 1500 horse-loads per year.[109] In the words of Bernier, "the caravans from Tibet loaded themselves with the produce of the country, such as musk, crystal, jade and especially a quality of very fine wool of two kinds, the first from the sheep of that country, and the latter which is known by the name of *touz* and resembled, as already observed, the beaver, and should rather be called hair than wool."[110] The Kashmiri merchants had

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104 *Moorcraft, Travels, Vol., I, p. 347.* The habitat of these goats was not restricted to Ladakh but they were also found in China, Tibet, Russia, Afghanistan and Iran. For details see M. Ryder, Cashmere, mohair, and other Luxury animal fibres for breeders and spinners, Osprey close, 1987; see also Abdul Ahad, *Kashmir to Frankfurt*, Rima Publications, Delhi, p. 18; JRAS, VII, 1983, pp. 283

105 Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, pp. 402-3; Desideri, *Travels,* pp. 73-76. The Tibet-

Baqals exchanged their raw-wool for manufactured shawl goods and sold them advantageously in various markets of Central Asia, wherefrom they were carried to Peking (Beijing) and other famous cities of Central Asia. P.N.K, Bamzai, *op.cit*, p.28-29

106 According to William Moorcraft It was so because the Ladakhis were religiously bound to sell it to only Kashmiri merchant's remarks. Moorcraft, Travels, Vol., I, p. 347

107 L. Petech, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, 23, 1947, pp. 193-94

108 For the terms of treaty see Abdul Ahad, *Kashmir to Frankfurt*, Rima Publications, Delhi, pp. 18-19

109 After the end of Mughal rule one can find the declining trend in the import of shawl wool as 4000 maunds were imported from 1752-1819, it further reduced to 3200 maunds in1819-47, in 1867-68, only 408 maunds of shawl wool was imported in 1868-69, a slight increase was seen from 408 maunds, it rose to707 maunds, but it fell again in 1869-70 to 548 maunds. From 1870-72 only 300 maunds were imported to the valley for its shawls. *Ibid*, p. 107; Moorcraft, *Travels,* II, p. 15; C.E. Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir, Kishtawar, Badrawar, Jammu, Naoshera, Punch and the Valley of the Kishen Ganga*, p. 89.

110 *Ibid*, p. 426

almost monopolised the wool trade in the wool producing regions and had deployed their agents in the regions to advance loans and collect shawl wool from the producers.[111]

From China, the traders imported musk, china-wood, tea, silk, rhubarb, swallow wart, and porcelain;[112] and from Khtotan Yashab, silk, paper, carpet and vessels of brass and copper.[113] The good breeds of horses were brought from Iraq and Turkistan.[114] Whereas goods sent from Agra to Kashmir were coarse, unbleached, cotton-cloth, yarn for local consumption, pepper and opium. Nutmeg, cloves and mace are too dear and their use unknown; but all of them were, as expected, brought there when the king was in residence.[115] “They bring the silkworms eggs from Gilgit and Tibet”, says Jahangir.[116] Among the other imported items, silver, was brought from Ladakh, gold from Iskardoo; Sugar from Punjab; and Sulphur from Lower Himalayas.[117] Tea and Silver coins (called *Yamboos)* were imported items from Yarqand.[118] Horses were imported from Iraq and Turkey and when “the Aimaqs (cavalry) were assigned Jagirs in Kashmir. These assignees were given heard of Iraqi and Turkey horses to breed. The soldiers brought horses on their own account. In due course of time, horses were obtained, bought and sold for 200 to 300 rupees and even for 1000”, remarks Jahangir. [119]

Kashmir’s External trade was largely determined by volume-value ratio (as these were snow bound areas, so products which were less in weight, but high in demand, were preferred by merchants to carry on these routes) of the commodities. Therefore, the most preferable item of trade was Shawl and the wool processed articles.[120] The Bulk of the

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111 Francke, Antiquities of India Tibet, pp. 115-116

112 Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire,* p. 425; see also M. Hasan, *op.cit,* p. 247

113 Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England Through Northern Parts of India,* II, pp. 18-22; Ain-i-Akbari, II, p. 353

114 Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Eng., Trans., Alexander Rogers, and Henry Beveridge, Vol., II, p.149

115 Palsaert, *Remonstrantie*, Eng., Trans., Moreland Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 33-34.

116 Jahangir, *op.cit,* p.146

117 Charles Baron Von Hugel, *Kashmir under Ranjit Singh*, pp. 58-62.

118 Cf. Mushtaq A. Kaw, *The Agrarian system of Kashmir,* pp.104-105.

119 Jahangir, *op.cit,* Vol., II, pp.148-49; Abul Fazl, Ain-i-Akbari, Vol., II, p. 353

120 Mirza Saif-ud-din, *Kulasatu-l- Tawarikh*, Urdu Trans., from Persian, Mirza Kamal-ud-din Shaida, 1984, pp.218-222

Shawl trade was carried on with India.[121] It was also the prized possessions of the Central Asian elites in medieval times.[122] The Mughal Emperors immensely encouraged it which ultimately led the commercialization of the industry and to its reorganisation. The shawls were produced on a large scale and were made in high perfection, which were sent as valuable gifts to 'every clime'.[123] It had become a craze with every noble to have a fine Kashmiri shawl, which was considered a symbol of prestige.[124] It became a custom of the Mughal Emperors to reward their allies with robes of honour.[125] It was given as presents to the ladies of the imperial *harem*, governors, and the special officials.[126] It was also sent to foreign monarchs as a token of respect and good will. For instance, Emperor Shah Jahan sent Kashmiri Shawls to the monarch of Rome, Persian, Egypt, Golconda and Bijapur and the Afghan ruler, Nadir Shah sent it to the ruler of Constantinople.[127] Jahangir in his *Tuzuk* describes the stuff as one of his favourite item of dress.[128] Thus, the enthralment of the Mughal sovereigns and upper class for the Kashmiri fabrics resulted in a boon for its industry.

Shawls weaving attained to such an excellence that a shawl of one and half square yards could be twisted and passed through the ordinary finger ring. It became very popular and was manufactured in numerous ranges of price to suit the purses of both the middle and upper classes. [129] The prices of Shawls varied. An ordinary piece of shawl such as *gospech* costs one rupee while the full length shawl would be sold at a price

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[121] Palsaert, *Remonstrantie*, Eng., Trans., Moreland Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, p. 19

[122] Muhammad Hakim Khan, Muntakhab-al-tawarikh, Vol., II, pp. 503-04-; see also Maktabat-o-Asnad, Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg, Ms. 680, f. 77a

[123] Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol., II, Eng. Trans., H. S. Jarrett, p.358.

[124] F. Bernier, Travels, pp. 402-03

[125] See Showkat Ahmad Dar, op.cit, p. 49; It is apt to mention here that the account put by Walter Lawrence in his celebrated work The Valley of Kashmir (p. 375) that the shawl weaving technique was introduced by Babur in India and thence made its entry in Kashmir is totally against the facts.

[126] In 1616 A.D Sir Thomas Roe was presented a Kashmiri shawl which he refused. J. N. Sarkar, Mughal Administration, p. 53.

[127] Abdul Ahad, *Kashmir to Frankfurt*, pp. 11-12

[128] Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, Eng., trans., p. 578

[129] Cf. P.N.K. Bamzai, *Cultural and Political History of Kashmir*, Vol., II, pp. 499-500

ranging from twenty to eighteen hundred and even more.[130] *Cheerah* Shawl was from two rupees to twenty five mohurs*; foteh* shawl from a half to three mohurs; and *Jamahvar* shawl, a brocaded cloth made of cotton thread, silk and wool costs from a half to four *mohurs*.[131] Bernier rightly observed that Kashmir derived much of its wealth from this industry.[132] The Shawl merchants had been found in distant parts of the world like the Jews in Europe or the Armenians in Turkish Empire.[133] They had established there warehouses in the countries like Turkistan, Central Tibet, Nepal, Lahasa and Bhutan.[134] But all this, does not really mean that the condition was in their favour, as a duty of four rupees was levied on each *trak* of shawl wool imported and three rupees on each shawl exported from Kashmir.[135]

The imperial *Farash Khana* always got from Kashmir, a large supply of carpets, *dhuries* and various embroidered articles of Silk and Pashmina wool.[136] The best varieties of paper were also sent from Kashmir, owing its origin to the fostering care of the imperial patronage. Mughal India also received large supplies of Kashmiri products such

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130 Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, I, p. 46; Some of the famous varieties of the Shawls were classified as Parmanarma, qasaba, dushwal, Jamvar, Jigha, goshpech. Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 301

131 *Ibid*, p. 74; *Dastur-ul-Amali Alamgiri*, Add 6599, ff 70-71

132 In the words of Bernier "what may be considered peculiar to Kashmir, and the staple Commodity which particularly promotes the trade of the country and fills it with wealth is the prodigious quantity of shawls which they manufacture and which gives occupation even to little children." Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire*, ed. and Trans., Archibald Constable, pp. 403

133 Markham, *Mission of Bogle to Tibet*, p. iv

134 Cf. Abdul Majid Mattoo, *Op.cit*, p. 220; Desideri, *Travels*, pp. 136-137. About the Lhasa a Kashmiri saying runs as

"Yusgav lass uh zahnaav,
Av ai tas nah zah wav".

It means that "He who went to Lhasa (Tibet) never returned, If he did come back then he was a rich man forever". (Bamzai, P.N.K, op.cit, p.28).

135 *Travels in Central Asia*, pp. 6-7; One Kashmiri trak = 8 seers. Ain-i- Akbari, p. 90; For details see Showkat A. Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of the Valley of Kashmir under the Mughals, 1586-1627*, Unpublished M. Phil. Dissertation, G. N. D. University, Amritsar, 2013, pp. 72-73

136 Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, Vol., I, p. 448

as zeera, papier-mâché articles, baskets, forest products, and furniture.[137] Kashmir also exported a superior quality of rice namely *jinjin* from *Rajouri*, Grapes, water-fowls and certain other vegetables to India.[138] A *maund* of rice was sold at two rupees during the reign of Akbar and grapes 108 *dams* a *maund.* [139] Also, Apples, pears, Almonds, walnuts, peach, grapes, quince, and quince seeds, melons and water-melons, were exported to the Mughal India.[140] According to Abul Fazl, loads of fruit were imported, throughout the whole year and the stores of the dealers remained full and the bazars well supplied. [141] Also, Musk and Yak-tails were exported to Central Asia.

Saffron was one of the main articles of export outside the markets of India. It was exported to Yarqand, Tibet and China.[142] Its export to Agra, remarks Palsaert, "Kashmir yields nothing to Agra except saffron, of which there are two kinds: that which grows near the city sells in Agra, at 20 to 24 rupees, the ser; the other kind, which grows at Casstuwary, (*Kishtawar*) 10 *kos* distant, is the best, and usually fetches 28 to 32 rupees the *seer* (of 30 paise weight)."[143]

However, according to Abul Fazl, its price during the time of Emperor Akbar was from Rs 8 to Rs 10-12 *per seer*.[144] Beside, during the period under study, Kashmiri products like Saffron, medicinal herbs were also purchased by the English and Dutch

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137 For details see Showkat A. Dar, *op.cit*, p. 69

138 Water-fowls and certain vegetables from Kashmir were used in the imperial kitchen. Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol., I, Eng., Trans., H. S. Jarrett, p.60

139 Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari,* Vol., I, Eng. Trans., H. S. Jarrett, p.34

140 Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, Vol., I, p. 29; Palsaert, *Remonstrantie*, Eng., Trans., Moreland Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, p.34-35

141 Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari,* Vol., I, Eng. Trans., H. S. Jarrett, p. 68

142 Forster, *A Journey from Bengal to England Through Northern Parts of India,* II, pp. 22; G. T. Vigne, Travels, Vol., II, p. 34. Kashmiri Saffron was exported to China in early century of Christian era. It was used in large quantities by the monks of both Tibet and China. D. D. Kosambi, *Origin of Feudalism in Kashmir*, JBRAS, p. 131; C.E. Bates, op.cit, p. 72, 77.

143 Palsaert, *Remonstrantie*, Eng., Trans., Moreland Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 33-34

144 Abul Fazl, *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol., I, Eng. trans. H. S. Jarrett, p.80. The price remains same during the time of Jahangir.

merchants.[145] In addition, Kashmir also exported many articles which she obtained from other countries.

In our study of the commodity structure of Internal and External trade, we found that the great majority of the people mainly consumed what they themselves produced and also the commodities were sent to markets for export. Kashmiri traders throughout the period had been very enterprising. Despite the tremendous difficulties of communication and transport, the trade caravans established their links with far off places. They not only monopolised the import and export trade of Kashmir but also that of Tibet. There was in all probability, an upward trend in the volume of trade, both internal and external, during the Mughal period. All type of merchandise, carried to and fro was subjected to various duties, levied at various watch stations. However, the overall position of trade throughout the Mughal rule was flourishing, despite an attempt in 1774 by the Britain (in shawl industry) to shift the glorious shawl manufactory from Kashmir to British.[146]

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[145] The factories at Surat and Ahmadabad were the main customers of Saussura Lappa (Costus), Calamus, Amber Beads, Warm Wood (aromatic herb). For details see Abdul Majid Mattoo, op.cit, pp. 220-222

[146] Hugel, *Travels*, II, p. 8; See Abdul Ahad, *op.cit*, p. 108

CHAPTER-9

STANDARD OF LIVING

God, listen to our cries and deliver us to the other side
How many good people were wasted for salt?
Salt became expensive and then disappeared
What, pray, is the point of eating?
Without salt, food is tasteless

Ladishah[1]

DWELLINGS, DRESSES AND FOODS

The word 'Material comforts of the people' may refer to a feeling of contentment, a sense of cosiness, or a state of physical and mental well-being; it may also be said in terms of having houses or dwellings, food and drinking habits, dresses, amusements and recreations, or to put it simply material comforts of the people signify or determine their overall standard of living. To measure the standard or modes of living of the people of Kashmir during the period under consideration, it is apt to quote Pelsaert, who compiled '*Remonstrantie'* in A.D 1626. He writes that, "the inhabitants of the country and the city are for the most part poor and owing to their mode of life, which is that of worth the beast rather than the men";[2] reinforcing his feelings, Father Xavier in his '*Letters From Kashmir'* says, "they (Kashmiris) are very poor and I never saw so much poverty among other people".[3]

It may, however, be stated that in general there was a high disparity of income level among various social classes and the overall living standard of people was lower than those of European peasants and the ordinary serf. The fact can be gauged from the description of Pelsaert, he puts it as 'the rich in their great superfluity and absolute power, and the utter subjection and poverty of the common people - poverty so great and miserable that the life of the people can be depicted or accurately described only as the

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[1] Cf. *Aatish*, Vol. XI, 2007, p. 122.

[2] Francisco Palsaert, *Remonstrantie*, Eng. Trans., Moreland Geyl, Cambridge, 1925, pp. 33-34.

[3] Father Xavier, *"Letters From Kashmir"*, JASB, Vol., XXIII, No., I, 1927, pp. 115-21.

home of stark want and the dwelling place of bitter woe.'[4] From peasant, who was having a 'limited ownership' more than two third was siphoned off and the right to enjoy the fruits from land was considerably limited.[5] The only things he possessed were 'a wooden pestle and mortar for husking rice, a few earthen vessels for cooking and earthen jars for storing grains.'[6] Astonishing though it seems that all the source material whether written by the sons of the soil or the writings of all those who came from Central Asia, India and even from European countries, the ordinary life style of the rural masses of Kashmir, their dwellings found too little charming to attract their attention. On the other hand, the grandeur and the delightful features of the urban life of the aristocracy have been dealt with great admiration. According to Mirza Haider Daughlat, "in the town there are many lofty buildings constructed of fresh pine wood. Most of these are at least five storeys high and each storey contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The beauty of their exterior defies description and all those who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration."[7] Even some of them built such lofty palaces which had twelve storeys and hundreds of rooms.[8] However, the overall rule, if believed on contemporary sources, seems to be in between two to five storeys. The ground floor was reserved for cattle; first floor was meant as family apartments and outside it a balcony approached by a ladder, where the people delights to sit in the summer. The balcony and the loft are festooned with ropes of dry turnips, apples, maize-

[4] Francisco Palsaert, *op.cit*, pp. 60-61

[5] Mutamid Khan, *Iqbalnama-i-Jahangiri*, p. 149; Pir Hasan Shah,, *Tarikh-i- Hasan*, Urdu trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, "*Tarikh-i-Hasan*", Vol., I, City Book Centre, Srinagar, 2003, pp. 272-273; for details see Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of Valley of Kashmir*, M.Phil. Dissertation, 2012, Chapter VI

[6] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Nawal Kishore edition, Lucknow, 1879-80 & Eng. Trans., Vol., I, H. Blochmann and Vol. II-III, (Bound in one) H.S. Jarrett, Low Price Publication Delhi, Reprinted, 1994, Vol., II, p. 174.

[7] Mirza Haider, *Tarikh-i- Rashidi*, Eng. Trans. from Persian, N. Elias and E. Denison Ross, "*A History of Mughals of Central Asia*", Renaissance Publishing House, Delhi, reprinted 1986, p.425

[8] *Ibid*, pp. 425-426

cobs for seed, vegetable marrows and chillies, for winter use.[9] Second and third floors were reserved for house hold chattels, and in loft formed by the roof wood and grass were stored.[10]

The house roofs were slanting to let the snowfall off during the winters. The roofs were covered with small planks, fastened together with cords, and were covered with a layer of earth on which white and violet lilies and tulips were grown over it.[11] The houses were ventilated with pretty artistic, open work called as *"Panjara"* open in summers and closed by paper in winters. [12] Outside the houses of the rich people, who constructed their houses on the banks of the Jhelum, rosaries and orchards were laid and the corner of a courtyard was used for a kitchen where vegetables were cultivated which, according to Bernier, "produces a very pretty effect, especially in spring and summer, when many parties of pleasure take place on the water."[13] It is interesting to note that the custom of constructing walls around their compounds was not in vogue; however, the habit of constructing of mud walls developed in due course.[14]

On the other hand, commenting on the domestic comforts of the masses of people K.M. Ashraf, in his celebrated work, puts fairly the correct general estimation of the village life as "masses of the people, most of whom, inhabited in villages as they do now, did not require elaborate constructions. A few trunks and a quantity of straw for thatches is all they want for construction of their dwellings."[15] They constructed their houses with cut pines, fir and cedars; and the roof tops were covered with paddy straw and reeds.

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[9] Cf. Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir,* Katib Ghar, Srinagar, 1996, p. 249.

[10] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol., II, pp. 827-28; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p. 301; Mirza Haider Dughlat, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi,* p. 434; Bernier, *Travels,* pp. 297-298

[11] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p. 144; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol., III, p. 543; Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir,* p. 249 ; Forester, *op.cit,* II, p. 10; Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit,* p. 232

[12] Francisco Palsaert, *op.cit,* p. 34. Compare this with Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir,* p. 249

[13] Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire, A.D. 1656-1668,* Eng. trans. Archibald Constable, London: W. Pickering, 1826; Reprint, New Delhi: Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, 1992, p. 398

[14] Forester, *From Bengal to England,* II, pp. 10-11; Desidari, *Travels,* pp. 351

[15] K.M. Ashraf, *Life and Conditions of the People of the Hindustan,* Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1988, p. 195

Such huts have been the mansions of the peasantry, who formed more than ninety percent of the population.[16] In general, as viewed by Prof. Irfan Habib, "there huts were made with materials that were most easily procurable and without the use of much building skills."[17]

Since Kashmir abounded in lakes and rivers, large number of population commonly known as *Hanjis* lived in boats and as a well known fact the Vehicular traffic was almost unknown and the waterways were the chief arteries of internal trade. Thus, these boat dwellers formed an important class in the socio economic life of the people of Kashmir. According to Abul Fazl, there were thirty thousand boats, which seems an exaggeration if compared with the figure put forth by Emperor Jahangir "5,700 with 7,400 boatmen in the city and the parganas" used for carrying commercial goods from one end of the country to another i.e. *Khanabal* to *Baramulla*.[18]

Tent life was not popular in Kashmir; however, true, it was not totally absent. The men of adventures, traders, merchants, and common men planted tents, made of cloth along the roads and used *Sarais* at certain distances for their accommodation.

It is important to note that the material used in the buildings, whether of rich or poor, was that of wood. Stones, lime and baked bricks were also used but in small quantity.[19] It was as per Abul Fazl, because of the availability of the abundance of wood and the frequent earthquakes, wood were preferred over stone.[20] Wood also constituted the primary building material of the mosques and shrines, but quite contrary to the choice of the people, forts, royal palaces, inns and Sarias were built exclusively in lime and

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16 Cf. R. K. Parmu, *History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 442

17 Irfan Habib, *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*, p. 110

18 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol. II, p.142; *Ain- i- Akbari*, Vol. II, p.353; The boats were made of deodar wood. See also Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of Valley of Kashmir*, M.Phil. Dissertation, 2012, pp. 62-65

19 *Gulshan Dastur*, ff. 432; See also Forester, *From Bengal to England*, Vol., II, p. 11

20 Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 169; Bernier, *Travels*, p. 398; Vigne, *Travels*, pp. 7 6-78

stone. Thus, as rightly pointed out by Percy Brown, the art of stone building in its ancient form was revived by Mughals in Kashmir.[21]

Paddy straw (*Patgee* in Kashmiri) serves as a floor covering and sometimes excellent mats (*waggu*) were made from *pits* (Typhs Sp), a swamp plant grown in the lakes.[22] In the words of Pelsaert "merely a sheet (woollen blanket) or perhaps two, serving both as under- and over-sheet, this is sufficient in the hot weather, but the bitter cold nights are miserable indeed."[23] Whereas on the contrary, carpets, *gabbas* and other textured floor coverings were used by the aristocracy.[24] Cots or bed sheets and chairs were not used in Kashmir, little and greater Tibet, but might have been used by the people of Rajouri, Punch and other such regions.[25]

The peasant household mostly consisted of a few earthen pots, some bowls, and a pair of earthen pitchers for storage of water. However, utensils like *deg, degcha, tasht, patila, majma, qashaq, aftaba,, sarposh* and *kanda krari* of the material brass, copper, and other metal wares were used by the upper classes. Actually all these utensils were brought here by the Persian and Central Asian immigrants. Utensils of China wares, sapphire and jade dishes and plates were also used by the privileged class. Samovar for *Nun Chai*, most probably introduced by the Muslims during the Sultanate period was also used.[26]

The *'hamams'* or hot bath rooms, which were introduced during the rule of Mirza Haider Daughlat, would have been, in all probability, attached to houses of the rich

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21 Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture*, pp. 82-88. Three important stone buildings built by the Mughals in Kashmir are Pathar Masjid, Mosque of Akhun Mullah Shah and Fort of Hari Parbat.

22 See Walter Lawrence, *op.cit,* p. 69

23 Francisco Palsaert, *Remonstrantie*, (C.1626), Eng. Trans., Moreland Geyl, "*Jahangir's India"*, Cambridge, 1925, p. 34.

24 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p. 301

25 *Ibid*, p. 298; See Parmu, *A History of Muslim Rule in Kashmir 1320-1819*, Peoples Publishing House, Delhi, 1969.p. 412; We often heard the Punjabis addressing Kashmiris in sheer hate and disdain, *Kashmiri be piri na manja na piri* [The spiritually misguided Kashmiri possesses neither a cot nor a stool.]

26 Shamas al-Din, *Shah Hamdan: Hayat Aur Karnamey,* p. 289, p. 310; Gulshan-i-Dastur, f. 557

people for heating purpose and for hot water used in winter.[27] However, the poor common folk of Kashmir remarks Emperor Jahangir, "suffered hardships in the winter from the excessive cold, and live with difficulty"[28]; they might, as is evidenced from the later sources,[29] used the cold water of the springs and the *nallahs* for multiple purposes and the only companion in the chilly days to warm their body, other than clothes, was a bowl shaped earthen pot commonly called as *Kanger.*

The Dress of the people is determined chiefly by the climatic conditions, as well as by the changing requirements of rituals, traditions, economy and occupation. Aesthetic considerations too are responsible for determining the clothing of the people. In view of these considerations there was no such uniformity in dress or ways of putting them among the various social classes. The dress of common people (Muslims and the Non-Muslims) on the whole, changed little, was simple in the extreme. They did not wear drawers (*izar*), but put on long loose woollen tunic called Pheran[30] (Persian *pairahan*) tired with a belt round the waist called *Kamarband*; it was because of their abject poverty this long woollen coat (*pattu*) instead of being a winter dress was worn during the summers as well and as per Jahangir, they wear it for three to four years and it would not reach water till it would fall into pieces.[31] Important to mention here that the geo-climatic conditions hardly afforded the cultivation of cotton but given the alpine nature of the land wool was available in large quantity hence the woollen fabrics were made with high perfection, thus became the common dress of both men and women. The dress of the women was same and according to Pelsaert, "they wear a coarse gray woollen garment, open from the neck to the waist. On the forehead they have a sort of red band, and above

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[27] Rafiu'd-Din Ahmad, *Nawadiru'1 Akhbar,* f. 49b; Pir Hasan Shah Khuihami, *Tarikh-i-Hasan,* Urdu trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, "*Tarikh-i-Hasan", *Vol., I , City Book Centre, Srinagar, 2003, p. 381

[28] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p. 345

[29] See Walter Lawrence*, op.cit,* p. 87

[30] Pheran was commonly used before the Mughal conquest of Kashmir, however, quite contrary to the facts some modern writers wrongly attribute the introduction of to Emperor Akbar. See G.T. *Travels,* Vol. II, p.142. E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires Meet,* p. 26; Walter Lawrence*, op.cit,* p. 252

[31] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p. 147. Still the women of Tashqand, Samarqand, Bukhara and Tajkistan wear *Pairahan.* Shamas al- Din*, Shah Hamadan*: *Hayat Aur Karnamay,* p.287

it an ugly, black, dirty clout, which falls from the head over the shoulders to the legs (called *Kasaba* in case of the Muslim women and *Taranga* in case of a Hindu women. *Taranga* was tied to a hanging bonnet falling to the heels from behind); cotton cloth is very dear, and their inborn poverty prevents them from possessing a change of raiment."[32] However, the veil was absent among the lower class women of *hanjis* and *watals*.[33]

Women like the men folk, too did not wear drawers; this is said to have offended Emperor Aurangzeb, who visited Kashmir in A.D 1665 and is said to have given directions to the then governor of Kashmir, Inayatullah Khan, to compel them to cover their naked legs.[34] Nose rings or pin called '*roong'*, ear-ring called *'goshwar'*, neck ornament called *'guluband',* armlet called *'bazuband'* and an ornament for legs called *khalkhal* etc were commonly used by the women of Kashmir.[35]The women's also arranged their hair in a peculiar way and the practice was known as '*wankapan'*. Bates in *A Gazetteer of Kashmir* write about the arrangement of hair that "it is drawn to the back of the head and finely braided, the braid are then gathered together, and being mixed with coarse woollen thread, they are worked into a very long plait, which is terminated by a thick tassel (*gandapan*) which reaches down the lions."[36]

The people (both Hindus and Muslims) shaved their heads and it had been the common custom of the people not to be bare headed, but to wore invariably a turban or a skull shaped cap.[37] Sometimes woollen cap known as *"kala posh"* was also wear by the common people mostly villagers (labourers and artisans).[38] Although, important to note

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32 Francisco Pelsaert, *op. cit.,* pp. 34-35.

33 Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* p. 35

34 Cf. R. K. Parmu, *op.cit,* p. 447

35 *Tuhfat al- Ahbab,* pp.69-70

36 Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* p. 36

37 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p. 147

38 Sayid Ali, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* f. 25b

here that the Sunni Ulema's and the Qazi's put turban of white colour but the Shia's used that of black colour.[39]

The dress of the upper classes in Kashmir resembled with the dress of the people of Iran and Central Asia; even the cultural influences of those countries are markedly discernible in the cuts and fashions of the dress and ornaments of the upper classes. It is important to note that, unlike the lower classes, they possess separate winter and summer dresses. For the summer fine silk, *zarbaft, kimbhab*, and *valvet* were used, about the fineness of silk products to quote Srivara "the painters saw and remained dumb with wonder"[40] The upper part of the body was covered with '*qamiz'* or *kurta* with full sleeves and sometimes over it *sadri* (short vest). The outer robe called '*chogha* or *qaba*' (*kasim* in Kashmiri) was a kind of long gown or caftan open in front descended to the ankles with loose sleeves.[41] To cover the lower covering of body i.e. from hub to the ankles, wide trousers called *shalwar* or *Izar* (*Pajamah*) were used. Like other sections of the society, the winter dress of the upper classes was of woollen cloth *(pattu)* but it was more delicate and soft or to quote Srivara "fit for the kings".[42] Besides pattu, shawl was the most important and the delicate stuff article of the royalty and even Mughal women used to wear *cabay* made of Kashmiri shawls.[43]

Religious classes had their own distinctive dresses; the dresses of the Ulema's were similar to that of upper classes but the dress of the Sufis and Rishis who believe in more austere life did not wear costly or attractive garments, they wore the rough and patched clothes known as "*junda"* and a long piece of cloth like *"lungi"* was tied round the waist and reaching down to the knees.[44]

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[39] *Tuhfat al- Ahbab,* pp. 113-119

[40] Silken products were worn mostly on festive occasions, even the Sultans bestow silk robes as *khil'ats* to their courtiers. See Srivara, *op.cit*, p. 232

[41] Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Ali Mohammad and Sons, Srinagar 1959, reprint, Delhi, 1974, p. 228.

[42] Srivara, *op.cit*, p. 151

[43] Manucci, *op.cit,* p. 318

[44] See for details Moti Lai Saqi, *Kulllyat-i-Shaikhu'l Alam*, pp. 26-28; Baba Nasibud-Din Ghazi, *Nur Nama;* f. l54b, 337b

The common people used grass shoes mostly of rice straw known as *"pulhore"* during the summers and wooden sandal known as *"khrav"* in the rainy and muddy seasons.[45] A woollen long cloth called *"patawa"* was tied around the calf of the legs in order to protect them from pinching cold winds.[46] However, shoes made from hides were worn by the well-to- do classes, besides they also wore embroidered shoes known as *"Konsh"*.[47]

Food and food habits, an important indicator of the social condition too depends on geographical, economic and religious considerations. Rice remained the staple food of the people of Kashmir, cooked in each house separately by women, as it is today, but it was of an inferior quality.[48] Its importance can be seen from the fact that when the paddy crop failed, it led to famine.[49] It was cooked in several ways; generally, the rice was boiled thoroughly, in a certain quantity of water, till it absorbed all the water. It was then left to cool down and then ate, as there was no custom of taking hot meals. Moreover, a portion of the rice called (*batta*) was kept overnight and taken in the morning.[50] Wheat was little consumed, as it was little grown in the Kashmir, however, in the areas like Rajouri, little and Greater Tibet, Pakhli and Kishtwara, where buckwheat and millets were the main crops, the people mostly used bread in these regions.[51]

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45 See Abdul Majid Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, 1586-1752, Golden Horde Enterprises, Kashmir, 1988, p. 136; Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 249n

46 Moti Lai Saqi, *Kulllyat-i-Shaikhu'l Alam*, p. 40

47 *Ibid*, p. 39

48 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., III, p. 358. However, it should not one to lead to the conclusion that Kashmir produced the inferior quality as the superior quality of rice known as *jinjin* from Rajouri was exported for imperial kitchen. See Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of Valley of Kashmir*, M.Phil. Dissertation, 2012, Chapter III

49 It was during rule of Sultan Ali Shah Chak, failure of paddy crops led to the famine; During Shah Jahan's reign when natural calamities destroyed the paddy crop, thousands of people left Kashmir. Lahori, *Badshahnama*, vol. II, part-I, pp. 282-83, 309-10; *Amal-i-Saleh*, ed. Ghulam Yazdani, vol. II, pp. 328-29

50 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 146; See also Abdul Majid Matoo, *op.cit*, p. 136; Nizam-ud-din, *Muslim Rule in Kashmir, 1554 A.D to 1586 A.D*, Anmol Publication, New Delhi, 1993, p. 209 Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 229; N. K. Singh, *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Vol. 2, op. cit., pp. 55

51 Bernier, *Travels in the Mughal Empire*, pp. 417-18

Other than rice, the poor common folk consumed Barley, as it was considered as a simple food, fit for poor and for those who had renounced the world-Rishis.[52] As is well known during the times of scarcity and the natural calamities which the people of the land always witnessed or when the staple commodities remained scarce, they had to subsist on wild fruits and herbs; it would not be out of place to make mention that the dried vegetables (*hukhsun*) mixed with salt (*Nunwath*) which was imported from Punjab was consumed very often as it is today. Also various kinds of pulses such as chana, kultha, Masura, Muga, Mash and millet were used as vegetables.[53] A good quantum of turnip called *Gogji* was consumed during winters, the Muslims used Pumpkin (*mashed aal*) with fondness while the Hindus did not eat it. Walnut oil was mostly used by the poorer section besides it rape, linseed, sesame and mustard oil (*tilgoglu)* were also used. However, butter and fats were not used and were considered harmful because of cold climate.[54] Fruits, green and dry of different varieties constituted an important item in the diet. The different fruits grown and eaten were the pears, cherries, plums, apricots, grapes, apples, nuts and preach.[55]

Meat was a popular dish of all the people, except a small class of ascetics called Rishis. It is interesting to note that the Kashmiri *Wazwan*, which is known throughout the world, constitutes namely, *kabab*, *rista* (Persian birishta), *yakhni*, *roganjosh, kurma, mutangan, ab-gosht,* and *kufta* are actually a contribution of Persia and Central Asia, introduced during the Sultanate period. [56] Other than the Wazwan, the well known Central Asia varieties, which became famous in Kashmir and were taken during the cold winters, are *Harisa* and various *palavas* of various kinds.[57] According to Jahangir, the tailless sheep resembling Indian *gaddis* commonly called *Handu* were the best and tastier

52 Cf. Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit,* p. 229

53 *Akbar Nama*, Eng. Trans., H. Beveridge, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 831

54 Walter Lawrence, *Valley of Kashmir,* p. 339; Bates, *A Gazetteer of Kashmir,* pp. 35- 36

55 Showkat Ahmad Dar, *A Study of Changing Economy of Valley of Kashmir,* M.Phil. Dissertation, 2012, Chapter V

56 *Tazkirat al- Arifin,* f.456b; See also *Tuhfat al- Ahbab*, p.68, p. 94, p. 283

57 *Harisa* was a broth like dish of mutton, rice and species. Palavas like *zard palav, turush palav, surukh palav* and *shoal palav* were even cooked in the *khanaqahs* of the Sufis. See *Tuhfat al- Ahbab,* p.161, p. 125

source of mutton.[58] Muslims preference for the meat can be judged from the statement of contemporary Sanskrit writer Suka that in Srinagar, every day more than "one thousand cows are being slaughtered".[59] Moreover, Fish with and without scales, ducks, fowls both domestic and wild, were also taken.[60] The Pandits (*bhatas*) of the valley being mostly of Shivite faith, says Walter Lawrence, were justified in eating meat, provided it was slaughtered by a Muslim butcher.[61] In order to increase the taste and flavour of the dishes, spices of various kinds like pepper, turmeric, chillies, ginger, cloves and saffron were added but they all except Saffron were mainly imported from Agra.[62] However, the people of lower classes could ill afford to spend on rich and dainty dishes and contented themselves with simple food. Pickles or *achar* of different kinds were popular among common people. Sometimes chapattis were eaten with it.

Water water-nut or *singara* flour was also a staple food article and the bread prepared from it was considered highly nutritive by the common people.[63] The important varieties of breads like, *qulcha, lawas, girda, baqirkhani, shirmal,* etc although, having origin in Central Asia, became common with the same names here in Kashmir.[64] The most common drink, though not an intoxicating was salt tea known as "*Nun Chai*" imported from China. [65] *Kehwah* was also commonly prepared in homes mostly served on the festive occasions.[66] Soft drink of various types was used and it was mostly distilled from grapes about which Suka says, "all the Mughals who received presents of grapes

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58 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* p. 147

59 Suka, *op.cit,* p. 421

60 *Ibid,* p. 147; See also *Ain-i-Akbari,* Vol. II, op. cit., p. 353

61 See Walter Lawrence, *op.cit,* p. 28, p. 254

62 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* Vol. 2 , p. 177

63 Abdul Majid Matoo, *Kashmir under the Mughals*, 1586-1752, Golden Horde Enterprises, Kashmir, 1988, p. 134; it was also a staple food of the Hanjis. According to Hasan, the poor people of Bandipura, Hajan and Sopore rather the entire poor population of lower regions below these subsisted on boiled sinahgras (water nuts). Hasan, *op.cit,* Vol., I, p.186

64 See Shamas al- Din, *Shah Hamadan*: *Hayat Aur Karnamay,* pp.287-292

65 Hasan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir,* Vol. I, f. 64b. Mss. 4 Deptt. of History, A.M.U., Aligarh. Salt tea is a common drink among the people of Badakhshan, Fargana, Bukhara and Kulab.

66 Shamas al- Din, *op.cit,* p. 310

from the cultivators and tasted them acknowledged that they were superior to the nectar from the lips of their wives".[67] Some cups of it (grape wine) would cast the heat to the head.[68] Some time a drink was prepared from rice, barley, millet and mulberries. Milk of cow was popular and mostly goat's milk was consumed by children's.[69] *Boza* also called "*achi"* prepared from rice and *Chang* a delicious intoxicating drink were used in the valley as well as Pakhil and Ladakh. *Anguri* and *qandi* were other favourite drinks. Tobacco was commonly smoked, but there was a substantial decrease in the consumption of liquor. [70]

MEANS OF LEISURE AND RECREATIONS:

In order to relieve their tensions and stress of life, the people expressed themselves through celebration of fairs and festivals, entertaining themselves on various social and religious occasions by performing arts, playing games in several ways. A Kashmiri never missed any chance to participate in a festive occasion. However, it is important to note that the period under review was, thus, marked by joys and pleasures despite poverty, civil wars and occasional famines. Both religious and secular type of festivals were observed and enjoyed by the people and to moderate the troubled times certain beliefs and practices based of religion and superstition developed which instead of making these days depressing got them passed into pleasure and recreation. For instance, during the times of scarcity the people of Kashmir went to the springs *(Nag*) and arranged feasts-fried rice called '*tahar'* and sometimes rice mixed with meat of the head of sheep or some other animal called '*Kal hair'* was served in order to please the unseen (God), or most often a common practice among the people of Kashmir was to visit on the tomb of the saint to avert the days of misfortune. Congregational *khatmat* were organized during

[67] Suka, *Rajatarangani*, Eng., Trans., J. C. Dutt, p. 408. However, there are contradictory remarks about the grapes in the Mughal sources, as per Abul Fazl say "although grapes are in plenty the finer qualities are rare". Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol. II, p.353 Jahangir says, they are "harsh and inferior". *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol. II, p.146-147

[68] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri,* vol. II, p.146-147

[69] Walter Lawrence, *op.cit,* p. 364

[70] Abdul Majid Matoo, *op.cit*, p. 134. Wine was specially recommended on certain ceremonial occasions during the Hindu period, even the Brahman priest and the laymen used to drunk alike. During the Sultanate period many Sultans viz. Zain-ul-Abidin, Haider Shah, and Hasan Shah used to drink wine. Hasan Shah was in the habit of arranging parties in his palaces. Cf. Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit,* p. 231

'urs' days and scores of devotees assemble at the *Khanqah* premises to attend the *khatmat* ceremony, prayed for good time to come.[71]

The religious festivals like *Eid* (*fitar* and *Zuha* or qurban), *Shab-i-Barat*, *Nourze*, *Diwali* and *Dusserah* were celebrated with pomp and show by the people of Kashmir.[72] A procession was taken out by the Shi‘as on the eve of Moharram. Bonfires and illuminations were arranged. The people were also deeply involved in the worship of miracle saints and village deities and undertook regular pilgrimages to their shrines such as Urs-i-Shah Hamdan, Urs-i-Hazratbal, Urs-i-Dastgir Sahab, Urs-i-Nurdin Noorani, Urs-i-Mukdam Sahab, Urs-i-Shams- al Din and Urs-i-Janbaz wali. In order to participate in these festivals people went in the boats with tea and other dishes. Some played on guitars and drums while singing. [73] The birthday of the Jhelum (*Vyath Truwah*) was also celebrated by the people of Kashmir with great enthusiasm by illuminating tinny oil lamps on the both banks of the river Jhelum.[74] According to Jahangir "the lamp lighting was good; I sat on the boat and went round to see it".[75] Furthermore, the annual fairs of Tulla Mulla, Amaranth, spring of Ishbari, Ganderbal and Kokernag were also celebrated.[76]

Other than these festivals, the people of Kashmir enjoyed various other social activities. Among the outdoor games, *Chaugan* (polo) was a common game played at *maidan-i-chaugan* and *Eid Gah* ground. It was played almost throughout the Subah by all

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71 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol. II, p.356; Mulla Ali Raina, *Tazkiratu'l Arifin*,f.44a-b;

72 According to Jahangir, the celebration of the Dusserah was held on Monday, on 13th of Mihr (26th of September); It was an old custom in Kashmir when they decorated horses in the special stables and those of the *Amirs* and prided them. *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 176; Emperor Akbar celebrated Dewali in Kashmir, it was on this day says Abul Fazl when the boats, the river banks and the roofs of houses were illuminated with lamps, all providing a magnificent appearance.

73 For details, Gousia Khan, *Muslim Life and Rituals*, Ph.D thesis, KU, 2007

74 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 732

75 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 311

76 Muhammad Azam Diddamari, *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, Urdu Trans., Shams-ud-din Ahmad, J&K Islamic Research Centre, Srinagar, 2001, pp. 267-71; The Khir Bhawani spring with its temple is the sacred abode of Hindu goddess Rajanya.

sections of people.[77] Horse racing was a fashionable amusement among the upper classes of Kashmir and according to Jahangir they imported special Arab horses (*aspi-tazi*) besides those of Turkey and Iraq for this purpose.[78] *Tir-andazi* (Archery) was a favourite and a common recreational game besides fishing and hunting (Shikar) of the wild duck, (*abi murgh*) and fowls.[79] Stags, partridges, deer, and leopards also offered sport. Falconry and hawking were chief sources of amusement and as per Abul Fazl "from the general use of pellet-bows which are fitted with bow strings, sparrows are very scarce." [80] However, it is important to note here that Kashmir was so much rich and profitable in hunting that as soon as Kashmir fell in the hands of the Mughals, hunting was declared a state monopoly.[81]

Dice and chess were popular and favourite indoor games of the people of Kashmir from the ancient times.[82] Tipcot was common all over India and so was the case with Kashmir, in this game the looser had to give a ride to the winner on his back. Hop-scotch and mimic warfare were also common; the mimic warfare was fought among the youngsters of different wards of Srinagar in *Maisuma* ground. In the words of Walter Lawrence, they "used to turn out with slings and stones and played a very earnest and serious game"[83] it would lead to broken heads and limbs, and even death.[84] This game continued upto the rule of founding father of Modern Jammu and Kashmir State, who was against this, thus put a stop to this mock warfare for all times to come.[85]

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77 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 829; Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels in Himalayan Provinces*, Vol., I, p. 10 7; See also *Baharistan-i-Shahi*, p. 67

78 *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, p. 311; Srivara, *op.cit*, p.173

79 Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, f. 159a. For the detail on the fishing see Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 364; *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Vol., II, p. 175

80 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol., II, p. 354

81 Abul-Fazl, *Ain-i- Akbari*, Vol., I, p. 535

82 Mohibbul Hasan, *op.cit*, p. 231; Nizam-ud-din, *Muslim Rule in Kashmir*, p. 210

83 Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 255. The author of Roznamcha calls it as a favourite weapon of the people of Kashmiris. Saif-ud-din, *Roznamcha*, Vol., III, dated, 21 March, 1850, p. 41

84 Knowles, *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*, pp. 3-4

85 Knowles, *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*, p. 225

Another great source of entertainment of the people of Kashmir was the tricks shown by the Jugglers and acrobats; they amused the people by their performances and as per Marco Polo who had seen the feats shown by the Kashmiri Jugglers at the court of Kublai Khan, says that "they could make their idols speak and obscure the day."[86] It was also from the time of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, fire-works continued to be a source of extra-ordinary enjoyment for the people of Kashmir.[87]

Another chief source of amusement and recreation of the people of Kashmir was Music and dance. It was during the Chak rule music got much importance. Haider Shah and Husain Shah Chak used to enjoy in the company of musicians at every Tuesday of the week at his court. Even the last independent Sultan of Kashmir Yusuf Shah Chak (AD 1578-80) patronized the Music at his court. He was also a great musician, as per Malik Haidar and Rafiu'd-Din Ahmad, he defeated Tan Sen the court musician of Emperor Akbar and the greatest musician that India had ever produced in one of the *muqamat* (a melodic mode).[88] Occasional concerts and musical events were organized and as per the author of Tuhfatul Ahbab, a great festivity was organised on this day (*Chitra* festival or *Sounth*) at Kohi Maran, where the musicians, singers, dancers and other promoters of *Jashan* used to assemble from all parts of the country and such enchanting feats were shown by them which attracted, "all the people of city, all the social groups, artisans, merchants, traders and peasants of the whole country (Kashmir)".[89] Emperor Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan organised Jashan on the *Takht-i-rawans* (river places) and in the charming gardens of Shalimar, Verinag and Achabal gardens, in which wine flowed freely, and dancing girls and musicians sang and danced. The common people had their own *Jashans*; they held *banda pathers* (indigenous theatrical shows) and drinking parties in the gardens and on the boats. [90] On the festive occasions, the young women danced in groups in the form of semi-circle and sung pretty songs. The children had their own

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86 Yule, *Marco Polo*, Vol., I, p. 175

87 Srivara, *op.cit,* pp. 152-53

88 Rafiu'd-Din Ahmad, *Nawadiru'1 Akhbar*, f. 67a; Malik Haidar, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 69

89 *Tuhfatul Ahbab*, pp.181-82

90 Cf. N. K. Singh, *Islamic Heritage of Kashmir*, Gulshan Publishers, Srinagar, 2000, p. 59

games, by which they entertained themselves, like they had their rag dolls, arranged their marriages and carried them in toy palanquins.[91]

In retrospect, the standard of living refers to the status of various classes in the society. The people of all classes enjoyed different types of living standards. From the material comforts one can easily judge their economic as well as their social status. Furthermore, in order to entertain themselves, the people of Kashmir attached great significance to the celebrations of religious and cultural events, despite poverty, civil wars and occasional famines.

[91] Walter Lawrence, *op.cit*, p. 255

CONCLUSION

‘Anim Sui, wavum Sui, Lajum Sui Panasui’

I brought the nettle, I sowed the nettle, and then the nettle stung me.

Kashmiri saying

The present study spans over a century and half of the Mughal rule in Kashmir. It primarily deals with the chief aspects of Kashmir’s socio- cultural and economic history. Kashmir has had many appellations, all flattering and most undeserved: Enchanting Valley, Solomon’s Garden, Switzerland of India, to name a few. In fact, the axiom of Kashmir, ‘the paradise on earth’, was coined by the Mughal emperor Jahangir. Importantly, the process of constructing the image of the proverbial beauty of Kashmir started in the Mughal era; even this was time when Kashmir loomed large in the minds of Europeans, through the writings of Father Jerome Xavier (nephew of great Catholic Francis Xavier) and Benedict de-Goes, a Portuguese, who accompanied Emperor Akbar to Kashmir in AD 1597. Moreover, the image of land and the people, especially of women, was constructed by Francois Bernier in his letters, published in A.D 1670, becomes an essential part of the European narrative tradition. The wide acceptance of Bernier’s construct, as an essential part of tradition of discourse on Kashmir, can be judged by the popularity of the writing of an Irish poet, Thomas Moore’s best selling epic poem, *Lalla Rookh*. Although, Moore never set foot in Kashmir and yet managed to construct an exotically romantic image of Kashmir. However, despite all the admiration expressed for the natural scenery of Kashmir, the Kashmiris remained less attractive and wanting in their appraisement. Almost all the Centrist sources loaded their accounts with the panoramic view of Kashmir, zoomed in detail, the structural production made by the inhabitants in the enchanting land. However, strange enough, the depiction of the Kashmiris were described as ‘despicable creatures’ that had made a mess of the paradise, they had been blessed with.

The enchanting Vale was formally annexed by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in A.D1586; nonetheless, the process of its occupation, in a way, had started much earlier. Interestingly, the aggressive endeavours of Akbar, to extend his sway over the Kashmir, was not enthused by any humanitarian consideration, but was more or less prompted by economic and imperialistic designs as well as the consideration's of the defence of the infant Indian Empire, which was increasingly threatened by the growing power of the Uzbeks; disturbing situation, created by the Roshaniyas; and the Yusufzais in the north-western region. Moreover, within Kashmir, political situation was fluctuating rapidly, witnessing sectarian bickering, high handedness, oppression and misrule. Thus, Akbar thought it better not to leave the Kashmir in a state of doubtful loyalty and 'a safe sanctuary for rebels'. The immediate impact of the occupation marked the end of Kashmir as a kingdom in its own right.

The credit of crushing the opposition also goes to Akbar. He and his successors, ruled Kashmir through their agents called *Subahdars*, sent from time to time, who held the real authority. Thus, Kashmir was placed at the mercy of short lived Governors, ignorant of the local languages and customs; ruled local population, according to their personal likes and dislikes, regardless of the policy of imperial headquarters at Delhi or Lahore. They looked upon the Kashmir in the same light, as the Roman proconsuls regarded Africa. The first thing that the early *Subahdars* did without exception, was to exterminate the Chaks, root and branch. They resorted to all kind of ruse and deception to achieve this end. Having maintained the superiority, on the basis of military might, Kashmir assumed the status of a *Subah* under Emperor Jahangir, earlier it was attached to the province of Kabul, the north-western most *Subah* of the Mughal Empire. Undoubtedly, from the description given by contemporaries, both Mughal and Provincial sources of the Kashmir, it is clear that *Subah* Kashmir was, more or less, limited only to the valley.

I

Despite many shortcomings, latent in the annexation of Kashmir, the Mughal rule in Kashmir gradually proved to be a 'mixed blessing', as it ushered in an era of wider

political social and economic relations. An age-old isolation of the Kashmir region was broken; routes across the Pir Panjal range were transformed into the channels of governance and commerce; even Kashmir was administratively integrated into the larger Mughal Empire. The stable and the organised Mughal institutions in administration were introduced which gave unity to the region with the rest of empire. Kashmir, thus, began to share in the prosperity enjoyed by the other Mughal provinces. Mughal emperors began to take keen personal interest in its affairs. Emperor Akbar, in his last visit to Kashmir on 6th June 1597, found a severe famine caused terrible devastation in Kashmir. In order to meet the challenge, he took immediate measures by remitting the revenue and ordered a fresh assessment based on actual village papers (*khagaz-i-kham*); an order was also given that food to be imported from Punjab and Sialkot and distributed among masses. Furthermore, to alleviate the sufferings of the famine-stricken population, twenty places were prepared in the city for the feeding of the great and the small.

Emperor Jahangir visited Kashmir, as many as seven times; his fascination with the beauty of Kashmir lead to a modification of its landscape, since some of the more scenic architectural marvel, such as Mughal gardens and the Pari Mahal, were built during his reign. The pro-Kashmir attitude of the Emperor appears in all clarity from his memoir where he writes that he wanted to die in Kashmir. It has been found that the frequent visits of Mughal emperors, to a large extent, served as a check on the activities of the *Subahdars.* His successor Emperor Shah Jahan (1627-1658) added immensely to his father's grandeur; visited Kashmir three times. He removed tyrannical governor Itiqad khan from power and replaced him by a benevolent, Zaffar Khan/ Ahsan Ullah (1630-40).

II

In social terms, undoubtedly, the two major social entities, which confronted during the Mughal period in Kashmir, were the Hindus and the Muslims. The Sikhs were infinitesimal, thus, not mentioned. The Hindus in the pre-thirteenth century Kashmir, formed the main reference-group, but at the turn of fifteenth century, Hinduism was

replaced by Islam as the mass religion with ninety-four percent Muslim population, according to the earliest Census Report (1911). Though, the adoption of Islam by the greater mass of population did not affect the existing socio-religo-cultural fabric, as the Kashmiri Muslims had never really given up the old Hindu religion of the country.

There were genealogical and occupational divisions within these two principal communities. Interestingly, the Hindus of Kashmir were represented by the single caste of Kashmiri Pandits (*Bhattas*), as a result of the gradual conversion to Islam, beginning in the fourteenth century**.** By the time Mughals took over Kashmir, the majority of the Hindu population (especially the lower castes) had already accepted the faith of Islam. It is important to mention that Kashmiri Hindus though represented by a single caste 'Brahmans' were not yet a monolithic group. They were divided according to their functions in the sacred, scholarly and secular realms. Those who studied Persian for sake of jobs in state-service were called the *Karkuns* and those who continued to stuck to the study of Sanskrit and engaged in ritual practices were labelled as *Bhasa-bhatta* or simply '*gor*' or gurus. This division created such a wide gulf within the Brahman community, that they did not intermarry and formed endogamous sections *vis-à-vis* caste. The vast majority of Kashmiri Pandits particularly formed the *Karkun* category, were largely salaried state employees, while some practised cultivation and related occupations. Although, theoretically, these two subdivisions were equal in status but in practice the *Karkuns* were considered superior and it was actually based on their superior socio-economic position. A third but much smaller category of the Kashmiri Pandits, present in towns, was called the *Buher*. They formed an endogamous set of their own; were mostly grocers and confectioners, though they were hated by the Karkuns. Interestingly, it was during the Mughal period, that the Hindus of Kashmir prospered in a much better way, as the Mughals, who were looking for allies in Kashmir, drew primarily on the Pandits (*Bhattas*).

The Kashmiri Muslims, which formed a majority category, were also a less cohesive category. It should be borne in mind that with a few exceptions i.e. those who immigrated from other Muslim lands, the Kashmiri Muslims were the

descendents of Hindus converted to Islam. Notwithstanding their mass conversion from Hinduism to Islam, the social structure continued to remain intact and the Muslim society retained the element of social stratification upheld by birth, ancestry and occupations. Like the Brahmans, the Sayyids (who claimed a direct line of descent from the Prophet's family), boasted on their noble pedigrees and claimed the superior position. Similarly, so did the Shaikhs (descendants of Hindu converts to Islam), who represented the convert class; comprised of the Pirzadas and the Babazadas etc. The Mullahs or priesthood of Kashmir, were a class by themselves and were further divided into two classes: one learned in law, designated as Maulvi, Kazi, Akhund or Mufti; and the Mullahs, less learned who played a creditable role as teachers in *maktabs* (primary school); gave calls and led the prayers. They like the *Bhasa-bhatta* had lived on free gifts and were exogamous in relation to *gotra* and endogamous *vis-à-vis* caste. The Kashmiri, so called, high caste Muslims (the Sayyids, the Shaikhs, the Mullahs etc.) became endogamous within the social group. Krams like Beig, Mirza, Koka, and Khans were settled during Mughal times; they enjoyed prominent position in the Mughal administration.

At the bottom rung of the social ladder were those which were supposed to be the remnants of inferior Sudras whom Muhammad-ud-din Fauq called *Adna-i-Aqwam*. They included the Dums, the Galwans, the Bands, the Chaupans, the Haenz and the Wattals. They were scattered in all parts of the Kashmir and were generally landless agricultural labourers. Both in the lower castes and the profession based social groups of the working class, the social intercourse was strictly confined to their own respective categories. However, interestingly in the lucrative professions, some sort of mobility had been noticeable, while as in the uneconomic professions, it was restricted to certain caste groups.

Quite evidently, the Shias formed another subdivision among the Muslims introduced in Kashmir, by Mir Shams-ud-din Iraqi, as early as A.D 1450. It was during the Mughal rule, sectarian clashes increased many a fold and it was more or less instigated by the rulers on spot (*subahdars*). While on the other hand, astonishing

though, it seems that there is no recorded history of serious group clashes between the Hindu and Muslims in Kashmir. They lived peacefully with each other and it was difficult to distinguish on the basis of costume.

III

The traditional social order was dominated by the patriarchal, social, economic, political and religious spheres, based on the foundation that the family line runs through a male. Thus, women were relegated to subordinate position. She had not been enjoying the name, position and status as enjoyed by man. The birth of a son was celebrated with pomp and show, while as the birth of a daughter was considered inauspicious and disappointing. The cause for this attitude could have been the difficulty of choosing a suitable match, economic dependency, attitude of the mother-in-laws and *Jahaz* (dowry). Though the people in Kashmir retained the bias between the sexes it did not lead to inhuman practice of infanticide.

It has been found that during the Mughal period, child marriage was a common feature in both the communities in all regions of the society. It is interesting to note that it was so because the women were made a victim to the lust of men folk. The beauty of the Kashmiri girls had been proverbial and as per Bernier “it is from this country (Kashmir) that nearly every individual when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol selects wives or concubines that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mangols.” Moreover, it was also in this period, that the Kashmiri women were exposed to the outer world and in the course of time resulted in shameful and nefarious practice of trafficking in women and white slave trade. It is interesting to note that the practice of sati did not remain confined to Hindus only, but the custom was accepted by the Muslim wives as well; they were buried alive along with their husband after the latter’s death. Furthermore, the intermarriage among Hindus and Muslims continued throughout the period under study. The credit of raising voice against this goes to Mughal Emperor Jahangir and Emperor Shah Jahan who discouraged the intermarriages and strictly forbade the custom of sati. However, in spite of the restrictions imposed from above, the practice continued until Emperor

Aurangzeb ascended the throne. He strictly prohibited the practice and even appointed Darogas in almost every district to carry out the spirit of the proclamation, warned the officials to face dire consequences if sati was resorted to with their connivance or failure. Though, it disappeared among the Kashmiri Muslims but continued among the Hindus until 19^{th} century when the founder of the modern Jammu and Kashmir Maharaja Gulab Singh in AD 1847 issued a proclamation prohibiting Sati from the land of Parvati.

IV

The Mughal period was one of intense cultural regeneration in Kashmir. It provided unique opportunities to the people of this isolated land by throwing its gates open for them, thus enriched the already copious cultural heritage by incorporating them into the rich culture of the Mughal Darbar. Persian became the medium of literary expression, not only for those who migrated to Kashmir, but also for native Kashmiris. As a result, Kashmir produced a large number of reputed scholars during the period under study. The names which deserve mention are Habib-ul-llah Naushahri, Mullah Tahir Gani, Mirza Darab Begh, Aslam Saleem, Mirza Begh Akmal, Mullah Mazhai Kashmiri, Mullah Muhammad Taufiq, Mullah Zihni Kashmiri, Mullah Nadimi, Mullah Mohsin Fani, Mullah Zaman Nafi, Ashraf, Fitrati, Tayib, Sati, Arif, Malik Haider, Muhammad Riza Mushta, Najmi, Kamil, Baba Nasib-ud-Gazi, Divanshah Adhar and Narayan Koul Ajaz who wrote in Persian rather than in Kashmiri –a great tragedy for Kashmiri literature, possibly it was, as already said, to reach at large audience.

Similarly large number of poets, and men of letters from neighbouring regions like Delhi, Agra and the Central Asia made Kashmir their home during the Mughal period, thus giving a further fillip to the spread of Persian literary culture. For instance Abu Talib Ishfahani, a poet laureate of Shah Jahan, settled permanently in Kashmir and composed *Shahnama*. Other well known poets like, Haji Mohammad Jan Qudasi, Mohammad Ali Quli, Mullah Tughra Meshedi (d. 1667), Mehzari, Moin-ud-

din Naqashbandi, Mirza Sa'ib of Isfahan and Mir Illahi (d. 1652) came to Kashmir and established direct contacts with the native poets. Many Mughal *subahdars* too patronized poetic assemblies, which allowed for the descriptive Persian poetic literature in Kashmir by the Kashmiri poets.

V

The important feature of the Kashmir economy was its highly agrarian character. Due to the mountainous character of the Kashmir and the restrictions imposed by the physical environment, the area of the land cultivated out of the total geographical area remains very small. The description available to us from different literary texts tells that out of total land, three-fourth was mountainous and only one-fourth was arable. The cultivation for the purpose of agriculture was possible only during the summer season. However, because of the climatic conditions, the valley used to produce all the crops in that one season alone. The crops cultivated in different types of lands, differed from one another, according to the relative fertility, irrigation facilities, and the quality of the soil. The information regarding the agricultural produce is encouraging. The Mughals introduced adequate changes in the agrarian economy of the valley of Kashmir; most of the agricultural produce which was known during ancient times was produced in the Mughal period as well. Fruit growing and the method of grafting were introduced in Kashmir during this period. Many Central Asian fruits were also introduced. Saffron was one of the important cash crops produced in areas like, Pampore and Inderkot. It was a royal monopoly. Throughout the Mughal period, *Begar* usually was seen in the saffron collection; even it was obtained from other different classes, including carpenters, weavers, peasants and boatmen.

Although, agriculture in Kashmir was carried out only for four to five months a year, for the rest of the time, the land remained under snow. Under these circumstances the only alternative was the crafts, which provided the vocation and supplemented income to the populace. Shawl and Sericulture were most important

industries in Kashmir which provide part time and full time employment to the large number of the people. Emperor Akbar provide every effort for the improvement of the shawl industry, many weavers were brought from Andizhan and Eastern Turkistan. He also improved the shawl department by making a “visual” improvement to the tus shawls. Many experiments were carried out in shawl dyeing. The number of looms increased as well. These skilful artisans and craftsmen were specialised in various techniques, designs and artistic embellishments. But it is important to mention the position of the artisans or weavers were pathetic, they were reduced to a state of semi bondage, perpetuated by social compulsion. There were other skilled professions as well, such as wood work known as Khatamband (ornamental ceiling) and *Tabdan tarasht* (lattice work), paper making, boat-making and stone work. These industries drove a very thriving trade in Kashmir.

Among the most important aspects of the history of Kashmir of which underwent notable changes, trade and commerce occupied a prominent place. A large body of evidence suggests that merchants from Kashmir visited the important places like Turkistan, Lhasa, Khorasan, Hindustan and Persia for the purpose of trade and commerce. The commercial links with the neighbouring countries were furthered by the Mughals. Jahangir had the Mughal road constructed as a means to ensure the security of the increasing traffic of goods and people between Kashmir and other parts of Mughal Empire, which had the effect of making Kashmir more easily accessible and drawing it close into Indian economy. The trade within Kashmir was quite significant and almost all the *parganas* were interdependent on one another. The area specialised in one commodity naturally had to depend on other in terms of their need. In addition to the locally produced agricultural products and manufactures the imported commodities were also the items for internal trade. The most important feature of internal trade in Kashmir was the practice of barter system. There can be a little doubt that the bulk of the marketable products were absorbed by the local demand. *Qasbas* and townships acted as a major market place for the internal trade. Food grains like paddy was mostly the major items of internal trade, as it was

produced merely for the purpose of subsistence rather than for market. The internal trade was conducted mainly by land via land routes and rivers (Jhelum and its tributaries) which in fact, offered the cheapest means of transport. Kashmir's External trade was largely determined by volume-value ratio of the commodities. Therefore, the most preferable item of trade was Shawl and the wool processed articles. The Bulk of the Shawl trade was carried on with India. It was also the prized possessions of the Central Asian elites in medieval times. The Mughal Emperors immensely encouraged it which ultimately led the commercialization of the industry and to its reorganisation. The shawls were produced on a large scale and were made in high perfection, which were sent as valuable gifts to 'every clime'. Saffron was also one of the main articles of export outside the markets of India.

VI

There was a high disparity of income level among various social classes and the overall living standard of people was lower than those of European peasants and the ordinary serf. On one hand the houses of the people in the countryside were simple to the extreme. Whereas on the other hand in the town there are many lofty buildings constructed of fresh pine wood. Most of these are at least five storeys high and each storey contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers.The *'hamams'* or hot bath rooms, which were introduced during the rule of Mirza Haider Daughlat, would have been, in all probability, attached to houses of the rich people for heating purpose and for hot water used in winter. However, the poor common folk of Kashmir remarks Emperor Jahangir, "suffered hardships in the winter from the excessive cold, and live with difficulty" they might have used the cold water of the springs and the *nallahs* for multiple purposes and the only companion in the chilly days to warm their body, other than clothes, was a bowl shaped earthen pot commonly called as *Kanger*. The Dress of the people was determined chiefly by the climatic conditions, as well as by the changing requirements of rituals, traditions, economy and occupation. Aesthetic considerations too are responsible for determining the clothing of the people. In view

of these considerations there was no such uniformity in dress or ways of putting them among the various social classes. The dress of common people (Muslims and the Non-Muslims) on the whole, changed little, was simple in the extreme. They did not wear drawers (*izar*), but put on long loose woollen tunic called *Pheran* (Persian *pairahan*) tired with a belt round the waist called *Kamarband*; it was because of their abject poverty this long woollen coat (*pattu*) instead of being a winter dress was worn during the summers as well and as per Jahangir, they wear it for three to four years and it would not reach water till it would fall into pieces. Women wore a coarse gray woollen garment; open from the neck to the waist. On the forehead they have a sort of red band, and above it an ugly, black, dirty clout, which falls from the head over the shoulders to the legs (called *Kasaba* in case of the Muslim women and *Taranga* in case of a Hindu women).

The people, both the Hindus and the Muslims shaved their heads and it had been the common custom of the people not to be bare headed, but to wear invariably a turban or a skull shaped cap. Sometimes woollen cap known as *"kala posh"* was also wear by the common people mostly villagers (labourers and artisans). Although, important to note here that the Sunni Ulema's and the Qazi's put turban of white colour but the Shia's used that of black colour. The common people used grass shoes mostly of rice straw known as *"pulhore"* during the summers and wooden sandal known as *"khrav"* in the rainy and muddy seasons.

Rice remained the staple food of the people of Kashmir, cooked in each house separately by women, as it is today, but it was of an inferior quality. Its importance can be seen from the fact that when the paddy crop failed, it led to famine. Other than rice the poor common folk consumed Barley, as it was considered as a simple food, fit for poor and for those who had renounced the world-Rishis. As is well known during the times of scarcity and the natural calamities which the people of the land always witnessed or when the staple commodities remained scarce, they had to subsist on wild fruits and herbs; it would not be out of place to make mention that the dried vegetables (*hukhsun*) mixed with salt (*Nunwath*) which was imported from Punjab

was consumed very often as it is today. Also various kinds of pulses such as chana, kultha, Masura, Muga, Mash and millet were used as vegetables. A good quantum of turnip called *Gogji* was consumed during winters, the Muslims used Pumpkin (*mashed aal*) with fondness while the Hindus did not eat it.

In order to relieve their tensions and stresses of life the people express themselves through celebration of fairs and festivals, entertaining themselves on various social and religious occasions by performing arts, playing games in several ways. A Kashmiri never missed any chance to participate in a festive occasion. However, it is important to note that the period under review was, thus, marked by joys and pleasures despite poverty, civil wars and occasional famines.

Both religious and secular type of festivals were observed and enjoyed by the people. In troubled times, certain beliefs and practices based on religion and superstition developed which instead of making those days depressing got them passed into pleasure and recreation. The religious festivals like Eid (*fitar* and *Zuha* or *qurban*), Shab-i-Barat, Nourze, Diwali and Dusserah were celebrated with pomp and show by the people of Kashmir. A procession was taken out by the Shi'as on the eve of Moharram. The people were also deeply involved in the worship of miracle saints and village deities and undertook regular pilgrimages to their shrines such as *Urs-i-Shah Hamdan, Urs-i-Hazratbal, Urs-i-Dastgir Sahab, Urs-i-Nurdin Noorani, Urs-i-Mukdam Sahab, Urs-i-Shams- al Din* and *Urs-i-Janbaz wali.* The birthday of the Jhelum (*Vyath Truwah*) was also celebrated by the people of Kashmir with great enthusiasm by illuminating tinny oil lamps on the both banks of the river Jhelum.

VII

To sum up, the Mughal rule in Kashmir, which lasted for about hundred and sixty seven years, was an epoch making era, loaded with both costs and benefits; for, it experienced the occurrence of certain developments, which has been misunderstood and misinterpreted by some scholars. Even, by some the Mughal era in Kashmir, has been admired beyond proportions. On the whole, the Mughal period in Kashmir,

proved to be more as a ‘boon' than a 'bane’. A huge amount was spent on the architectural activities: development of gardening, with requisite irrigation works, opening up of new trade routes, Serais, Roads and Cities. Moreover, remarkable growth was witnessed in the field of arts and letters; even the period was turning point in the cultural history of Kashmir. Kashmir produced historians and poets of the highest order like, Suka, Haider Malik, Hasan Shah, Narayan Koul Ajiz, Habib-ul-ullah Nousheri, and Tahir Gani. As ‘one hears’ writes Walter Lawrence, ‘of the junkettings and picnics of Jahangir and his lovely consort, ‘the light of the world’, of the courtiers veining [sic] with one another and with their royal masters in the construction of splendid gardens, that one is apt to think that the Mughal rule in Kashmir was one continuous pageant of pleasure’. But, at the same time, however, the Mughal period, brought an era to end and cost Kashmiris their sprit of independence and ability to defend themselves against the outsiders.

APPENDIX-I

NAME OF THE SUBAHDARS APPOINTED FROM A.D 1586-1753

S. No	Name of the Subedar	Year of Appointment	Rank	Identity
	EMPEROR AKBAR			
1	**Mohammad Qasim Khan**	**1586**	**3000**	Irani
2	**Yousf khan Rizvi**	**1587**	**4500/3000**	Irani
3	**Mohammad Quli Khan**	**1594-95**	**1500/600**	Irani
4	**Asif Khan (Qawamu-ud-jaffar beg)**	**1597-98**	**2500**	Irani
	EMPEROR JAHANGIR			
5	**Mirza Ali Akbar Khan**	**1606**	**4000**	Turani
6	**Nawab Qulich Khan**	**1607**	**800/500**	Turani
7	**Safdar Khan alias Hashim Khan**	**1612**	**3000/2000**	Turani
8	**Safshikan Khan (Safdar Khan)**	**1612-1613**		Turani
9	**Ahmad Beigh Khan**	**1615-1616**	**2500/1500**	Turani
10	**Dilawar Khan Kakar**	**1618**	**4000/3500**	Turani
11	**Iradat Khan (Azim Khan)**	**1620-1621**	**1000/500**	Turani
12	**Itiqad Khan**	**1622**	**6000/3000**	Irani
	EMPEROR SHAHJAHAN			
13	**Khwaja Abdul Hasan**	**1632**	**6000/6000**	Irani
14	**Zafar Khan**	**1635-1636**	**3000/2500**	Irani
15	**Ali Mardan Khan** **Re-appointed**	**1638-1639** **1639-1641**	**7000/7000**	Irani
16	**Shah Quli Khan**	**1641**	**3000/2000**	Turani
17	**Tarbiyat Khan**	**1642**	**2500/1500**	Turani
18	**Murad Bakash**	**1647**	**12000/9000**	**Prince**
19	**Husain Beg Khan**	**1648**	**1500/1000**	Irani
20	**Lashkar Khan Alias Ashraf Khan**	**1658**	**3000/2500**	Turani
	EMPEROR AURANGZEB			
21	**Itimad Khan**	**1658**	**2000/500**	Irani

22	**Ibrahim Khan** **Re-appointed thrice**	**1661** **1667-78; 1702-1705**	**5000/5000**	Irani
23	**Islam Khan Alias Ziya-ud-Din Mirza**	**1661**	**5000/3000**	Turani
24	**Saif Khan** **2nd time**	**1665** **1671-1672**	**1500/700**	Turani
25	**Mubariz Khan**	**1669**	**2500/2000**	Turani
26	**Qawam-ud–Din Khan**	**1676**	**3000/2500**	Irani
27	**Iftikar Khan**	**1676**	**2000/1000**	Irani
28	**Hafiz-ul- Ullah Khan**	**1687-1688**	**3000/2000**	Indian
29	**Muzafar Khan Alias Mohammad Beg Khan**	**1691**	**---------**	Irani
30	**Abu Nasir Khan**	**1694**	**3000/2500**	Irani
31	**Fazil Khan Burhan-u-Din**	**1697**	**2500/1200**	Irani
32	**Islam Khan Rumi**	**1704-1705**	**---------**	Irani
33	**Nawazish Khan Alias Mukhtar** **2nd term**	**1706** **1711**	**2500/2500**	Turani
	LATER MUGHALS			
	BAHADUR SHAH			
34	**Jaffar Khan**	**1709**	**6000/6000**	Irani
35	**Abrahim Khan Dehbandi Alias Ali Mardan Khan**	**1709**	**5000/5000**	Irani
36	**Nawazish Khan**		**---------**	Turani
	JAHANDAR SHAH			
37	**Inayat-u-llah Khan** **2nd term**	**1711** **1712-1713**	**1500/250**	**Kashmiri**
	FARRUKH SIYAR			
38	**Inayat-u-llah Khan**	**1717-1720**	**1500/250**	**Kashmiri**
	MOHAMMAD SHAH			
39	**Inayat-u-llah Khan**	**1724-1725**	**1500/250**	**Kashmiri**
	FARRUKH SIYAR			
40	**Sadat Khan Alias Saiyad Husain Khan**	**1713-1717**	**6000/5000**	Turani
	MOHAMMAD SHAH			
41	**Abdul Samad Khan Alias Saif-ud-Daula**	**1721-1723**	**7000/7000**	Turani

42	**Azam Khan**	**1723-1724**	**4000/4000**	Irani
43	**Aqidat Kh an**	**1725-1727**	-------	Turani
44	**Aghar Khan**	**1727-1729**	**3500/3000**	Turani
45	**Sayed Mir Khufi Alias Amir Khan**	**1729-1736**	**5000/5000**	Turani
46	**Dil Diler Khan**	**1736-1737**	**5000/5000**	**Indian**
47	**Fakhru-Daula**	**1737-1738**	**6000/6000**	**Indian**
48	**Inayat –Ullah Khan II**	**1738-1740**	**------**	**Kashmiri**
49	**Asadullah Khan Alias Muhammad Ibrahim**	**1740-1744**	**6000/6000**	**Indian**
50	**Abu Mansur Khan**	**1745-1748**	**2000/1000**	Irani
	AHMAD SHAH			
51	**Abu Mansur Khan**	**-------**	**-----------**	Irani
52	**Quli Khan**	**1751-1752**	**-----------**	Irani

APPENDIX-II

PARGANA-WISE NUMBER OF VILLAGES

S. No	Name of the Pargana (Mahal)	Total No. of villages as given by Birbal Kachru, during the period of Akbar (A.D1586-A.D1605)	Total No. of villages as given by Pir Hasan, during the period of Akbar (A.D 1586-A.D1605)	Total No. of villages as given by Narain Koul Ajiz, during the period Aurangzeb (A.D1709-1710)	Total No. of villages as given by Mohammad Azam, during the period of Later Mughals (A.D 1746-47)
		Maraz Division			
1	**Itch**	104	104	104	104
2	**Brang**	79	79	70	70
3	**Vihi**	39	39	30	30
4	**Balda Srinagar**	15	15	15	15
5	**Ular**	126	126	121	101
6	**Phak**	64	64	64	64
7	**Dachinpara**	80	80	80	80
8	**Khowarpara**	102	102	56	102
9	**Khatar**	41	41	41	41
10	**MaruWardwa**	21	Not given	Not given	Not given
11	**Mattan**	15	11	15	11
12	**Lar**	84	87	87	NA
13	**Adwin**	209	208	208	208
14	**Ich (Islamabad)**	106	106	106	106
15	**Banihal**	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
16	**Batu**	63	63	63	63
17	**Devasar**	162	162	162	162
18	**Zainpur**	30	30	30	30
19	**Soporsaman**	21	21	21	21
20	**Shourah**	59	69	59	52
21	**Shakroo**	97	97	97	98
22	**Nagam**	200	200	200	202
23	**Ver**	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
		Kamraz Division			
24	**Zainakar /Zenagir**	94	98	98	98
25	**Khoihama**	55	55	55	55
26	**Inderkot**	Not given	Not given	8	8
27	**Paraspur**	33	Not given	33	33
28	**Pattan**	01	01	01	01
29	**Bankal (Bangil)**	223	223	223	223
30	**Beeru**	182	182	182	182
31	**Telegam**	46	46	46	46
32	**Dansu**	Not given	89	108	108
33	**Dachin Khawr**	102	Only name mentioned	102	102
34	**Sairul Muwazai/ Muwazai Payeen**	109	88/21	109	109
35	**Khui**	14	14	14	14

36	**Kamraz**	449	469	469	469
37	**Khohim**	55	55	55	55
These authorities have also mentioned the following Parganas					
38	**Machihama**	89	119	89	89
39	**Muhamadabad**	30	Not given	30	30
40	**Shahabad**	21	21	21	21
41	**Mirbahri**	Not mentioned	Only name mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
42	**Ichan**	Not mentioned	Only name mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
43	**Arwi**	Not mentioned	Only name mentioned	Not mentioned	Not mentioned
Total Parganas		**36**	**38**	**37**	**36**
Total number of villages		**3205**	**3189**	**3272**	**3203**

APPENDIX-III

PARGANA-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF REVENUE BASED ON THE REPORT OF QAZI ALI AND ASAF KHAN

S. No	Name of the Pargana	Revenue Paid in Kind		Revenue Paid in Cash	
		Kharwars	*Traks*	*Kharwars*	Traks
	Maraz Division				
1	**Itch**	1,44, 102	00	26,034	04
2	**Brang**	78,834	04	8,769	08
3	**Vihi**	2,09,632	08	1,61,968	08
4	**Balda Srinagar**	1698	04	42694	02
5	**Ular**	1,28,656	04	12,605	08
6	**Phak**	71,111	12	17,402	08
7	**Dachinpara**	75,153	00	6,902	12
8	**Khowarpara**	45,226	08	3,575	08
9	**Khatar**	37,479	04	3,221	12
10	**MaruWardwan**	-	-	5,041	-
11	**Mattan**	19043	-	1,862	-
12	**Lar**	128650	-	2265	-
13	**Adwin**	1,01,432	04	14,815	12
14	**Ich (Islamabad)**	98,369	-	14,377	04
15	**Banihal**	6,425	-		-
16	**Batu**	3,515	-	4,235	08
17	**Devasar**	85,644	08	822	08
18	**Zainpur**	15,875	04	1,790	01
19	**Soporsaman**	6,133	-	2,003	04
20	**Shourah**	39,167	-	8,550	12
21	**Shakroo**	45,224	-	12,757	08
22	**Nagam**	1,89,770	12	22,576	04
23	**Ver**	12,270	08	838	-
	Kamraz Division				
24	**Zainakar or Zenagir**	13,253	-	32,55,1/2	-
25	**Khoihama**	83,670	12	15,522	-
26	**Inderkot**	9553	04	7238	-
27	**Paraspur**	18,830	12	3,352	08
28	**Pattan**	4,799	04	523	
29	**Bankal (Bangil)**	15233	12	20280	04
30	**Beeru**	57098	12	13,383	

31	**Telegam**	15,415	12	4,435	04
32	**Dansu**	53,219	-	7,038	-
33	**Dachin Khawra**	36,222	04	20,653	
34	**Sairul Muwazai**	1,92,641	04	18,553	
35	**Khui**	12945		370	
36	**Kamraz**	3,42,844	04	103,725	04
37	**Khohim**	1, 15,474		29,779	12

JAMIA MASJID INSCRIPTION SRINAGAR

God is Great

Shah Jahan Padshah, the Just, the Victorious

Copy of the august order (*farman*) of His Solomon-like Majesty, *Sahib Qiran Sani* (Shah Jahan's title), issued on the seventh of *illahi* month *Isfandarmuz* (February 24th, 1633) in compliance with the request of the humblest of the old imperial servant (*khanazadan)* Ahsanullah, bearing the title of Zafar Khan, for setting aside the innovations which have been made during the terms of the former governors of the suba *(subadaran)* in the town of the pleasant Vale of Kashmir and have been the cause of ruin of the peasantry and the inhabitants of this region.

Whereas our attention is entirely engaged in securing the welfare of the people, we owing to certain practices which in the pleasant territory (*khitta*) of Kashmir used to cause hardship to the inhabitants of the region, have decreed that they be discontinued. Out of all such affairs, one is this that at the time of gathering saffron, they carried away people with violence, so that they may gather saffron and they gave to these people a committed, shall be known as redressed and they shall not act as thereby required (*muqtaza*).

Another (affair) is that *subadars*, during the time of fruit (season) appointed somebody of their own (to stay in) every (large) garden or small garden (orchard), wher they expected good fruit, so that they may look after the fruit from them (i.e. *subadars*) and did not allow the owners of the large and the small gardens to come in possession of the fruit. From this cause much lost results to the people (gardeners, so much so that some (*ba'zi)* of these people have removed (destroyed their) fruit trees. (So) We had ordered that the *Subahdar* shall make no seizure *(qarq)* of the fruits of any one's large or small garden.

It is necessary that (all) generous governors and efficient civil officers (*divanian*) and executive officers of the present times or future of the Subah of Kashmir, should know these orders, which are required to be obeyed by all to be

lasting and perpetual and give no way to any change or alteration in these (above) regulations. Anybody who allow alteration and change herein will earn condemnation (*la'nat*) from God and the wrath of the Emperor.

Written (inscribed) on the twenty sixth of the *illahi* month of Azar.

Courtesy: Dr.Jivanji Jamshadi, *A Few Persian Inscriptions of Kashmir*" JBBRAS, Vol. II, No.2, 1926.

SALIH KAMBOH'S VERSION OF THE SHAHJAHAN'S FARMAN, JAMIA MASJID INSCRIPTION, SRINAGAR [1]

The present is witness to the removal, by the kind attention of His Majesty *Sahib-i Sani* (ShahJahan), of the shameful, notorious innovations that had been introduced in the capital city of Kashmir and its dependencies by the tyranny of the successive governors (*hukkams*) had with the passage of time come to yield large sums. Whereas, now that the facts about them were conveyed to His majesty through the reports of the intelligencers of the said suba and the petition of Zafar Khan, *subadar* of that region, a decree was forthwith issued addressed to Zafar khan, in this regard, to the effect that all of these cesses that have been imposed by the perpetrators of oppression should be removed from the face of the registers, indeed from the pages of the age, and hereafter let nothing be taken from the peasantry on this ground, except what had been fixed in the olden past. The details of those items and cesses are as follows:

Item

The government officials (*mutasaddian-i-muhimmat*) compel the inhabitants of the city in general and the hapless poor, old women consumed by years, and children brought up by widows, for picking saffron by begar (forced labour). It has been decreed that these people should not be harassed by this objectionable practise. The workers of this necessary task should be paid their wages from the imperial establishment (*sarkar khasa sharifa*).

Item: it was fixed from the olden times that per ass load of paddy they took two and half dams, a copper coin *(falus)* of a special weight. During these days four dams have been fixed. It has been decreed that whereas in this everlasting reign the collection of toll and transit dues amount to a large sum, have been abolished in the entire imperial dominions, they should not trouble anyone with these miscellaneous cesses *(faru'at-i*

[1] Salih Kamboh, *Amal-i Salih,* Vol., I, edited by G. Yazsani, Calcutta, 1918, pp. 542-544

juzwi) which have no sanction whatsoever, and not collect anything on account of this exaction.

Item

From every village bearing the realisation *(hal-i hasil)* of four hundred ass loads of paddy, two sheep used to be taken in the past according to the settled practice. At present, owing to the tyranny of the former *subadars*, in lieu of the price of each sheep, they take from the peasants, in case, sixty six dams which amounts to the price of three sheep. It has been decreed that in this respect they must act according to the former regulations and restrain their grasping hands from all exactions.

Item

In every village numerous *qanungos* have appeared and they realize from peasants a large sum under the head *of qanungoi.* In this way much loss is incurred by the peasants and the jagirdars. The Emperor has ordered that one *qanungo* shall suffice and the others shall not be allowed to intrude therein.

Item

From the aged and the young, the children and the old among the boatmen, they take seventy five dams per head, calling the levy *mir bahri.* It has been decreed that, regarding the older practice as the prescribed regulation (*dastur-ul amal*), they should in this matter too stop the realization of the fiscal innovations and from old ones take no more than twelve dams, young men sixty dams, and juveniles thirty six dams. Zafar Khan, the subadar, should relieving the weak and the poor from the bonds of hardship and the heavy fiscal demands, get the text of the imperial order inscribed on a slab of stone and have it placed on the gate of the Jamia Masjid.

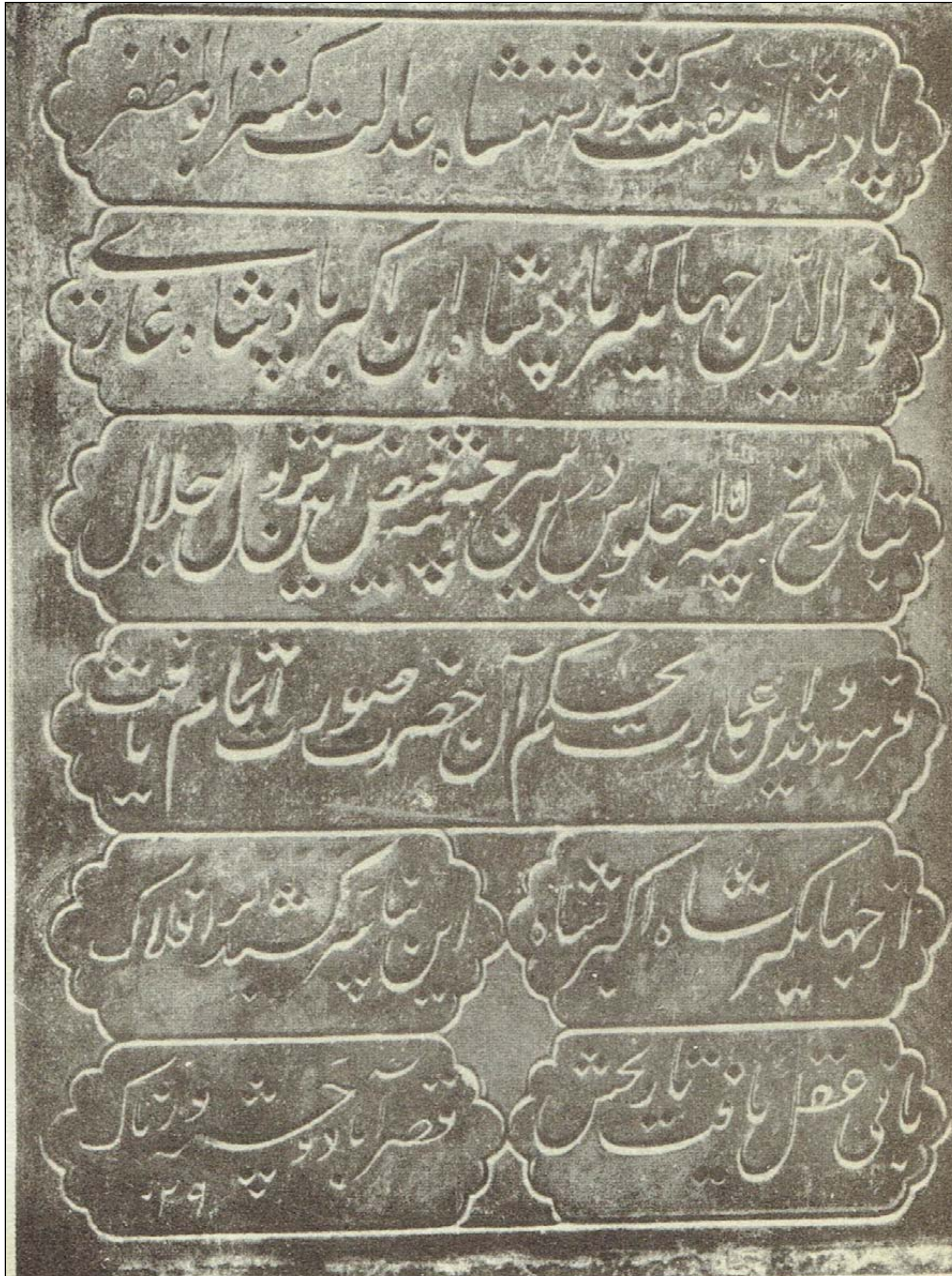


Reminiscent of the Loss of Kashmir's Independence.
One of the two gateways to Akbar's city of Nagar Nagar which can still be found.
Painted by Major E Molvneux 1917, (Courtesy: *India Office Library*)



Jahangir's Inscription at Verinag Spring Erroneously attributed to Shah Jahan

Source : GMD Sufi, Kashir, Vol. II.



Jahangir's Inscription at Verinag Spring

Source : GMD Sufi, Kashir, Vol. II.

KATHI DARWAZA INSCRIPTION

بنائے قلعۂ ناگر نگر شد   بہ حکم پادشاہ دادگستر

سر شاہان عالم شاہ اکبر   تعالی شانہ اللہ اکبر

شہنشاہے کہ در عالم مثالش   نبود است و نخواہد بود دیگر

کروڑ و نہ لک از مخزن فرستاد   دو صد استاد ہندی جملہ چاکر

نکردہ ہیچ کس بیگار اینجا   تمامی یافتند از مخزنش زر

چل و چار از ظہور پادشاہی   ہزار و شش ز تاریخ پیمبر

Eng.translation: "The Nagar Nagar Fort was founded under the orders of generous Emperor, the king of world's kings, Akbar (May Allah enhance his grandeur). He is an emperor whose parallel neither exists in the world nor will ever exist. He earmarked for the building one crore and nine lakh (rupees) and got it constructed by two hundred craftsmen from India including numerous workers. No begar or forced labour was exacted from any one: all got paid in cash from the state treasury. All this happened in the 44th year of his accession to the throne in accordance with 1006 A.H."

Source: Mushtaq Ahmad Kaw, *The Agrarian System of Kashmir* (1586-1819A.D), Aiman Publications, Srinagar, 2001.



Specimen of the calligraphy of Muhammad Husain Kashmiri, the court Calligraphist of the Emperor Akbar

Source : GMD Sufi, Kashir, Vol. II.

GLOSSARY

Abi	:	Irrigated land
Abwab	:	Extra demand imposed on the cultivators other than the State share
Agrahara	:	Free land grants given to Brahmanas in ancient times
Anna	:	one- sixteenth part of rupee
Amil	:	Agent in charge of revenue collection
Amin	:	A revenue officer charged with revenue collection
Amir	:	A Mughal officer of high status and rank, a noble man
Anna	:	One- sixteenth part of rupee
Awliya	:	Sufi mystics
Begar	:	enforced unpaid labour
Bhand	:	Itinerant actor of the traditional type
Bid’at	:	Innovation in religious affairs
Chaupan	:	Shepherd
Chikandoz	:	Embroiders
Darvesh	:	Mendicant
Darbar	:	King's Court; State government
Dam	:	Copper coin, in Emperor Akbar’s time forty dams were equivalent to one rupee
Dinar	:	Roman silver coin valued at one- fortieth of a rupee
Dirham	:	Roman copper coin
Diwali	:	Hindu Festival of Lights
Doonga	:	A large boat
Farman	:	A formal written edict issued by Mughal emperor under his personal seal
Galwan	:	Horse dealer
Gair-ul- allah	:	Asking help from others, other than God
Gayatri mantra	:	A Hindu Sacred Chant
Ghazal	:	ode

Hadith	:	Traditions of the Prophet Mohammad, which includes a compilation of his sayings and actions
Hash	:	Mother –in-law
Hijri	:	The Hijri is the era universally used in all Muhammadan countries and by all Mohammadan chroniclers. Hijri signifies the migrationof Prophet Mohammad from Mecca to Medina. The Hijri era is counted from Friday, 16 July 622 A.D
Hanji	:	Fisherman
Herath/Shivratri	:	Hindu Festival adoring Shiva
Iqta	:	A governorship; literally a piece of land
Jamawar	:	Embroidered shawl
Jital	:	A copper coin of Delhi Sultanate
Kankut	:	Estimation of land revenue
Kangri	:	Fire-pot, a kind of pot made of clay, filled with burning charcoal, used to warm one's body
Kaliyug	:	The last and worst of the four ages according to the Hindu scriptures, viz., Satya, Treta, Dwapar and Kali.
Karewa	:	Table land
Karkun	:	Kashmiri Pandit scribes and bureaucrats
Karkhana	:	A royal factory or enterprise for producing commodities required by state
Karkhanadar	:	Manufacturer; Shawl loom owner
Karoh/ Kos	:	An Indian measure of length, equal to about two miles
Karori	:	Revenue official
Kar-i-kalamdani	:	Art of making pen-cases, trays, etc. of papier-mache.
Kavya	:	poetry; refers to a literary style or genre within Sanskrit poetry from the second half of the first millennium, characterized by concepts of poetic emotion, affect, and suggestion
Khalisa Land	:	Land held and managed by the state

Kharif	:	Autumn crop
Kharwar	:	Ass load equal to eighty kg.; generally equal to a donkey load
Khrav	:	A wooden sandle
Khankah	:	A house of mystics or Sufi saints
Khil'at	:	A robe of honour
Madrasa	:	An Islamic School
Mansab	:	Military rank conferred by the Mughal government
Mahal	:	A small Administrative and revenue division
Manzirath	:	Mehndiraat (the night on which *mehndi* is decorated on the hands and feet of the bride and finger of groom.
Manwatta	:	Kashmiri weight equal to 1½ seer.
Mujawaza	:	The system of annually settling demand of revenue in kind and cash by state
Mauza	:	Revenue term for a village
Mazimyaur	:	Middle man (the person whose work is to arrange marriages)
Moksha	:	Emancipation, salvation: Release of the soul from the cycle of birth, death and rebirth
Muhr	:	Mughal gold coin
Muqta	:	Governor, person in-charge of an *iqta* or a medieval province
Mirab	:	Water baileif
Muhtasib	:	An officer to mention regulations in a municipality
Muqaddam	:	Village headman; literally the first or senior man
Naat	:	Hymn in praise of the Prophet of Islam.
Nal-wath	:	Stone
Nasaq	:	A mode of assessment
Nangar	:	Artisan
Naqash	:	Shawl pattern drawer
Nawab	:	Viceroy, Governor; title of rank

Nosh	:	Daughter-in-law
Omrah (Umrah)	:	Noblemen
Pahi	:	A non-resident cultivator, temporary cultivator
Paibaqi	:	Land reserved for allotment in Jagir
Pandit	:	The title prefixed to the name of a Brahman of Kashmir
Patil	:	Village headman
Pathshala	:	Sanskrit schools
Pattu	:	course wool
Patta	:	Document given by collector of revenue to the revenue payer stating terms on which the land is held and the amount payable
Patwari	:	Village accountant
Pasham	:	Shawl wool
Peshkash	:	Tribute from subordinate rulers
Phiran	:	A long loose garment reaching the ankles
Pir Parast	:	Saint-worshipper
Pir War	:	Abode of saints
Qanungo	:	An officer in each district acquainted with the custom and nature
Qasaba	:	Ornate head gear worn by traditional Kashmiri Women
Qasida	:	purpose poem or elegy; single rhyme
Rabi	:	The spring, technically crops harvested in spring crop of the tenures of land, a legal remembrance
Ragi	:	Finger Millet
Rahdar	:	Military commander assigned the task of road security.
Rahdari	:	Protection money paid by travelers
Rai	:	A Hindu chief, usually one heaving his own territory and army
Rasum	:	Free wood, fodder, poultry and blankets etc presented to Chakdar (Landlord)
Rahdar	:	Military commander assigned the task of road security

Risala	:	epistle
Ruba'I	:	quatrain
Samovar	:	A traditional Kettle to keep the tea warm
Sarai	:	A public-inn runs for the benefit of travelers
Sarkar	:	A named territorial and administrative unit between the pargana and province
Sazwal	:	A revenue functionary
Shawl-baf	:	Shawl weaver
Shroff	:	Banker and money lender; money changer
Shikara	:	A small boat
Shrukh	:	the verse of Nund Reshi, a 15th century mystic
Singara	:	Water-nuts
Sufi	:	A class of Muslim saints
Teli	:	Oil pressers
Trak	:	A measure of weight equal to six Kashmiri seers
Taranga	:	Traditional Pundit Women's head gear
Tulmula	:	Location of Kher Bhawani temple in Kashmir
Tanka	:	A silver coin of Delhi Sultanate.
Taqavi	:	Advance of money for sowing or extending cultivation
Urs	:	Annual Festival in the memory of a Sufi saint
Ustad	:	Master crafts man, Teacher
va:kh (m.)	:	saying (s) of Lal Ded, a 14th century mystic
Vatan, Watan	:	Hereditary lands
Vatsun	:	traditional (Kashmiri song)
Vanwun	:	Traditional Kashmiri songs sung by group of ladies.
Vyath	:	River Jhelum
Wadr	:	An alluvial or dry plateau
Watals	:	Scheduled castes
Waqf	:	Religious grant (Muslim's)
Zaam	:	Husband's Sister/sister-in-law
Ziyarats	:	Relic places of saints
Zubt/zabti	:	System of assessment based on measurement

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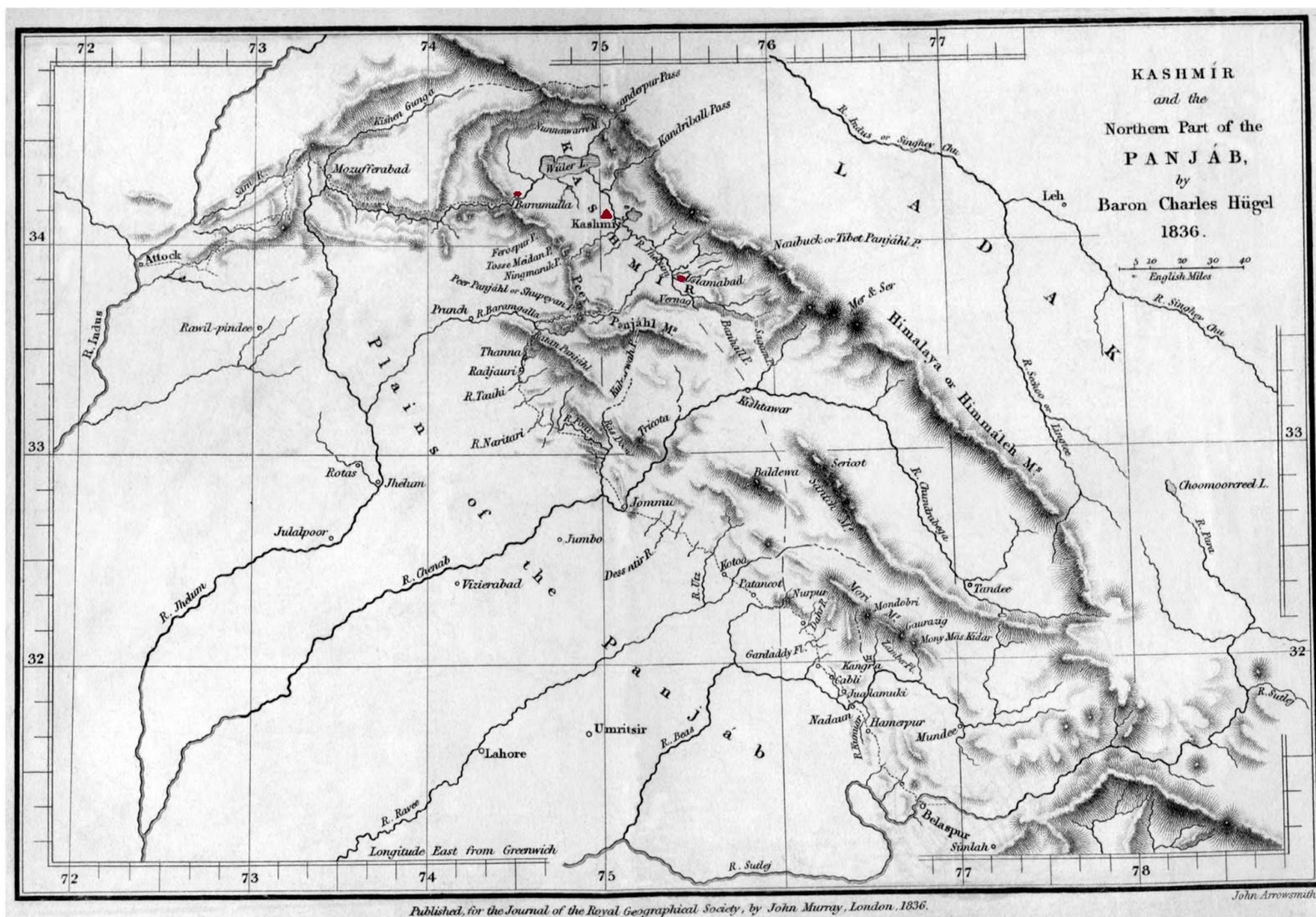
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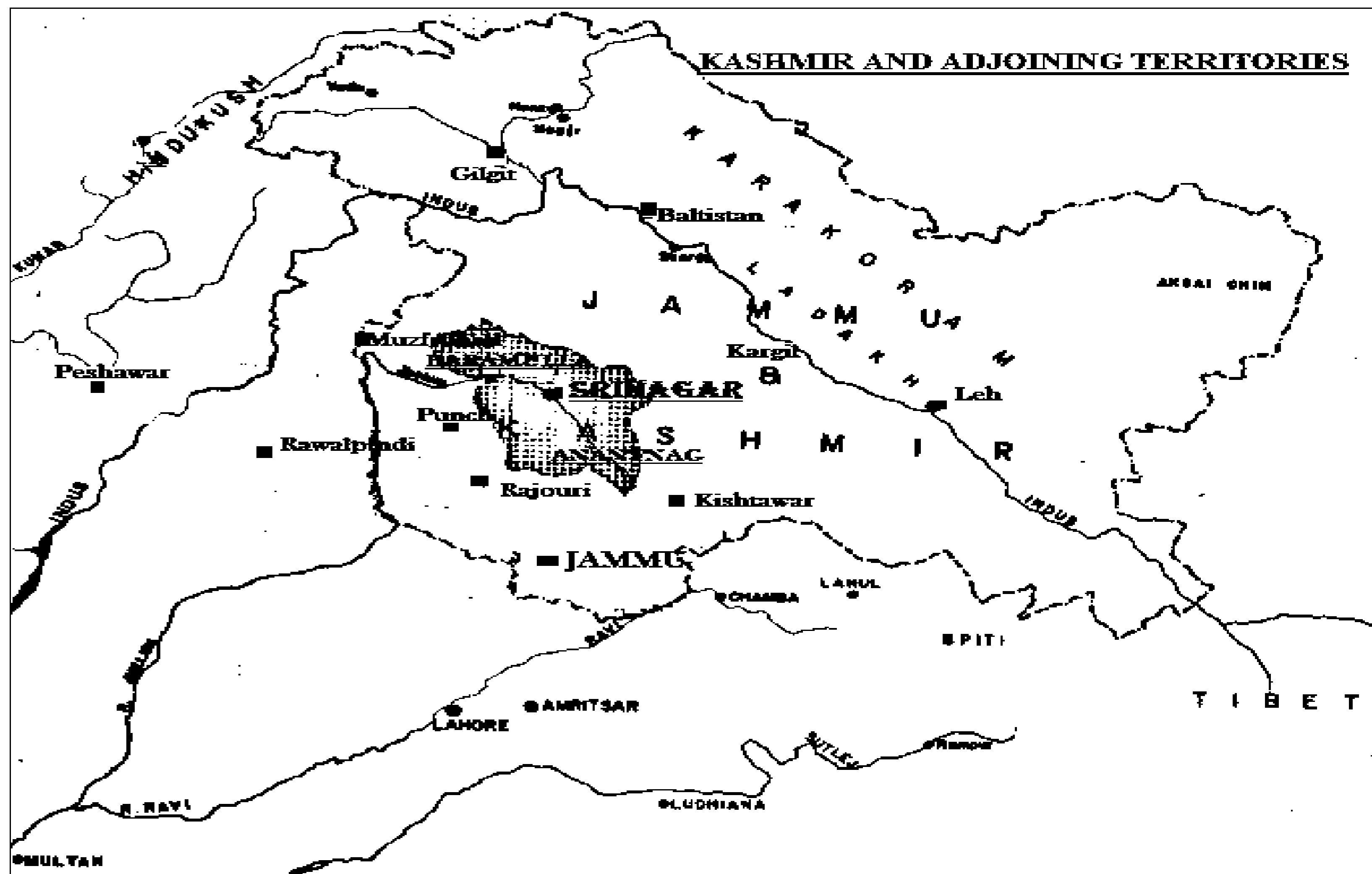
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